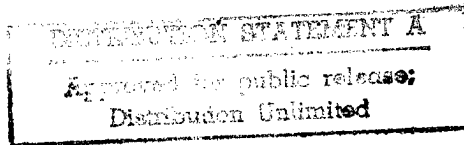


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USSR Report

POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

No. 1423

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30 June 1983

USSR REPORT
POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS

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CURRENT POLITICAL ISSUES

ESTONIAN AGROINDUSTRIAL MINISTER SPEECH AT REPUBLIC TENTH PARTY PLENUM

Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 12 Apr 83 p 3

[ETA report: "On the Estonian SSR Food Program Through 1990. The Report of Kh.T. Vel'di, First Deputy Chairman of the ESSR Council of Ministers, Chairman of the ESSR Agrarian-Industrial Association, at the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee 10th Plenum"; speech published "in summary," date and place not specified]

[Text] The Food Program for the ESSR through 1990 was drawn up in accordance with the tasks and instructions stemming from the CPSU Central Committee May (1982) Plenum and the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee 7th Plenum.

A large number of specialists from the ministries and administrations of the agrarian-industrial complex, scientific research establishments, the ESSR State Planning Committee, and the kolkhozes and sovkhoses and state enterprises, participated in the compilation of the Food Program.

As the result of consistent implementation of the agrarian policy formulated at the CPSU Central Committee March (1965) Plenum and further developed at subsequent CPSU congresses, agricultural production in our country, and in particular in Estonia, has taken an enormous step forward.

The major resources allocated to develop agricultural production and the efforts of tens of thousands of people have insured a significant growth in the production of agricultural products and foodstuffs. However, despite the improved supplies of consumer foodstuffs, the reinforcement of agriculture's production potential and the development of the social infrastructure in the countryside, we can by no means be satisfied with what we have achieved. We have not been able fully to satisfy growing consumer demand for meat and dairy products in terms of assortment and quality, nor consumer demand for potatoes, vegetables, berries and fruit. The rural population is feeling the acute lack of sociocultural objects and much needs be done to develop the everyday services sphere.

The ESSR Food Program is a goal-oriented, comprehensive program covering a 10-year period that in addition to increasing the production of agricultural output, envisages a balanced and planned development of all the servicing, processing and auxiliary elements. The main directions in the realization of the program are as follows:

proportional development of the agrarian-industrial complex through improvements in management, planning and economic incentive in all elements of the complex;

achieving in the production of agricultural output high growth rates for intensiveness in land use and the use of fixed capital through strengthening the material-technical base and accelerating the introduction of the achievements of science in production;

providing agricultural production with skilled workers, cadres and specialists who have good organizing abilities;

achieving the increase in agricultural output primarily through increased production by farms of their own fodder, and through improving the quality of fodders;

comprehensively using in agriculture the production-technical potential of the agrarian-industrial complex as a whole;

significantly reducing product losses in the production, harvesting, transportation, storage and processing of agricultural raw materials;

improving the social infrastructure in the countryside through construction, at preferential rates, of housing and sociocultural projects, and also through the comprehensive development of the domestic services sphere.

Comrade Vel'di provided a detailed analysis of the tasks of the agrarian-industrial complex in our republic during this five-year plan and the 12th Five-Year Plan.

By 1985 it is planned to bring the total harvest of grain crops to 1,375,000 tons, and by the end of the 12th Five-Year Plan to 1.5-1.6 million tons. During the final years of the 12th Five-Year Plan yields should top 36-37 quintals per hectare. The increased yield should be achieved through the more extensive use of new, high-yield varieties, strict observance of agrotechnical requirements and improving soil fertility. Compared with the average level for the 10th Five-Year Plan, the total potato harvest must be increased from 1,125,000 to 1,376,000 tons by the end of the 12th Five-Year Plan. More attention will be paid to seed production, first and foremost improvements in existing varieties, and to raising and growing new disease-resistant varieties that are strong and able to withstand mechanized harvesting. Provision has been made for significant increases in the areas sown to eating potatoes with good taste qualities.

In order to create a stable fodder base for livestock farming, which has continued to advance, it is intended to increase the production of grass fodders by a factor of 1.4, as a result of which the proportion of home-grown fodders in the fodder balance will rise to 78 percent. Special attention is being given to increasing the protein content in fodders. A comprehensive program has been drawn up for the production of plant protein. Provision has been made for extending the sowings of papilionaceous grasses, legumes and other protein-rich crops. It is also necessary to considerably intensify work on the production and use of cell sap, and to support in every possible way the initiative of specialists in revealing the possibilities of producing and utilizing new protein fodders.

Provision has been made for a further increase in state purchases of milk and meat, mainly through increasing the productiveness of cows and increasing hog and beef production. The production of beef and lamb on the private subsidiary farms of those industrial enterprises that have decided to set up their own farmsteads should also be considered a correct direction. Here, the production of livestock products should be based entirely on home-grown fodders.

Replenishing farm workers with highly skilled workers, comrade Vel'di continued, is one of the main conditions for successful realization of the Food Program. This is a very important task for each kolkhoz chairman and sovkhos director, and the level of agricultural output and the final results of management depend on it directly. The rayon agrarian-industrial associations and farms must deal to a much more significant degree with questions of the professional orientation of young people.

Agriculture's material-technical base is being strengthened even more. Thus, during the 11th and 12th five-year plans, agriculture will receive 24,800 tractors and 4,800 grain combines, and the proportion of the powerful K-701 and MTZ highly productive tractors will be increased. Even in this five-year plan the new, fully up-to-date DON-1200 and DON-1500 harvesting combines will be going out into the fields. Major capital investments will be directed for further increasing soil fertility.

Provision has been made in the Food Program for a number of additional measures to intensify the economic activity of kolkhozes and sovkhoses and increase material incentive. Starting from 1 January 1983 new purchase prices have been set for beef and pork, lamb, milk, grains, potatoes, vegetables and a number of other products. This year alone the kolkhozes and sovkhoses of the republic will receive at least R40 million of additional income through the higher purchase prices and additional payments to low-profitability farms. Special concessions and economic help are envisaged for lagging farms located in areas where the climatic and economic conditions are difficult.

But lagging is not always caused by natural conditions, weakness in the material-technical base or labor force shortages. Sometimes the causes are the weakness and mismanagement on the part of management personnel. Giving help to such farms and guiding their activity should be one of the paramount tasks for the agrarian-industrial associations in all rayons and for the newly created ESSR Agrarian-Industrial Association.

The ESSR Food Program determines the contribution from all republic ministries and administrations in achieving a maximum final result, comrade Vel'di said in conclusion. Extremely stepped-up tasks have been set for agricultural workers and the republic's entire agrarian-industrial complex. Their successful realization depends on the faultless and coordinated functioning of all elements of the agrarian-industrial complex.

INTERNATIONAL

BLOC SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE ON CONTEMPORARY CAPITALISM HELD

Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 20 Apr 83 p 1

[Article: "Problems of Economics in the Modern World"]

[Text] On April 19 a meeting of the international problem commission "A study of modern capitalism," opened in Tashkent. This is the 18th meeting of the commission that was created according to a program of comprehensive cooperation of the academies of sciences of socialist countries and is currently coordinated with the scientific session according to the theme "Structural shifts in the economy of capitalist countries and structural politics." In addition to Soviet scientists, noted economic research scholars from Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Poland and Czechoslovakia participated in this forum in the capital of Uzbekistan.

The meeting was opened by the Vice-President of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences, Academician of the Academy of Sciences of the republic, E. Yu. Yusupov.

I. Ye. Gur'yev, doctor of economic sciences and deputy director of the Institute for World Economics and International Relations delivered the keynote address "Marxist-Leninist Theory and Problems of Modern Capitalism," at the first plenary session, dedicated to the 165th anniversary of the birth and 100th anniversary of the death of the founder of scientific communism, Karl Marx. Included in the program of the plenary session was the question of the features of socioeconomic development of Soviet Uzbekistan, where the growth of economics and culture serves as a graphic example of the creative embodiment in life of the ideas and brilliant visions of Karl Marx, a triumph of Marxism-Leninism, and the orderly implementation of the Leninist national policy of the CPSU.

12262

CSO: 1807/263

INTERNATIONAL

ILL EFFECTS OF HIGH MILITARY SPENDING ON U.S. ECONOMY EXAMINED

Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Jun 83 p 3

[Article under rubric "America As It Is" by I. Yurkov: "Poison or Panacea?"]

[Excerpt] The Reagan administration is leading the Americans around by the nose, shamelessly using the intricate convolutions of the capitalist economy which are too complicated for the ordinary person to understand. The concept that asserts that the "development and production of a military product stabilizes the employment rate and even brings with it technical progress" is like an advertisement for a medicine which has been manufactured by a criminal witch-doctor. Actually, the arms race is by no means a panacea, but, rather, a poison for the already sick economy of the West. With regard to the growth rate of labor productivity, and, consequently, the effectiveness of production, and with regard to the level of competitiveness of commodities on the international market, the United States has been constantly losing its leading positions among the developed capitalist countries. That is precisely the payment for the unnatural growth of the narrow sector that works exclusively to meet the needs of the Pentagon. "The inflated, almost unlimitedly growing military complex is undermining America's economic future," states the influential West German newspaper STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG.

The immoderate snatching up of resources to meet the unproductive military expenditures in the federal budget hinders the carrying out of capital investments in the civilian sector. And this is at the very time when America, as economists feel, has long been ripe for "reindustrialization" -- approximately one-third of the fixed assets of American companies require replacement. But how can one replace them if the accumulation of capital in the overall economic system of the state is reduced, like shagreen leather, by means of financing the tremendous deficit of the federal budget? A budget which is being pilfered, bit by bit, by the military-industrial corporations.

The public is also being deceived with regard to the statement that the increase in military expenditures stimulates an increase in the number of jobs. There are few who know how great a price has to be paid for the "panacea" that has been prepared according to the prescriptions written by the "medics" in military business, because the creation of one job in the military-industrial complex is 2.5-4 times more expensive than in the civilian sector. And this

is at a time when even the repair of tens of thousands of decrepit bridges and railroad crossings, railroads, and sewage systems in many cities -- the putting of the entire infrastructure of the country in order -- could provide jobs for millions and millions of persons. That method is nothing new in the history of the United States. It was used not without system, in his time, by Franklin Roosevelt. But, also, the quagmire of militarization has taken the country down too deep -- the life ration of the Pentagon, according to recent computations made by the NATION'S BUSINESS magazine, currently constitutes a completely fantastic amount -- \$500 million a day! Even a slight reorientation of the budgetary means from military to peaceful purposes could, in the opinion of many American economists, ease the fate of the hapless Americans. But the people in the White House do not even want to hear of this method!

The process of militarization in the United States is currently eroding not only the economic structures. In the opinion of international observers, the thinking in military categories in the American centers of authority is leading, for example, to a situation in which there has been an intensive reorganization of science. The militaristic poison is penetrating into practically all its pores. According to data provided by the U.S. National Scientific Fund, the contributions to science there are much greater than in all the countries of Western Europe, taken together. But if one excludes from the overall volume of expenditures for science the expenditures for the development of the latest types of armament and the research of an intelligence nature, it turns out that the United States, with respect to appropriations for civilian science as such, is trailing far behind all its competitors -- West Germany, Japan, and others. The best minds in America are currently being brought into the military laboratories, and they are inventing or perfecting there the means for destroying people. But the number of inventions in the civilian sector, according to data provided by the same fund, has been sharply reduced recently.

All this makes it possible to conclude that the discussions by the court economists about military production during the times which are so difficult for the United States, as being some kind of panacea, is nothing but a miserable trick that has been called upon to serve in whatever means possible as a justification in the eyes of the public for the monstrous arms race that has been undertaken for selfish, criminal purposes, and purposes that are dangerous for mankind, by the most reactionary circles in the United States.

5075

CSO: 1807/276

INTERNATIONAL

BLOC CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL DEMOCRATS, CAPITALIST CRISIS, WAR

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 8 Jun 83 p 2

[TASS item: "For Peace and Security"]

[Text] The crisis of capitalism, military danger, and social democracy -- that is the topic of the international scientific symposium which opened in Moscow on 7 June. Participating in it are eminent specialists in the social sciences, researchers on problems of the international workers movement, from Bulgaria, Hungary, East Germany, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, the USSR, and Czechoslovakia.

Those who have spoken noted that, during recent years, by the efforts of Marxist researchers in the socialist countries, there has been a considerable advancement in the study of present-day social democracy as a political current that occupies a noticeable place in the social life of the capitalist countries. Under conditions of the present-day economic crisis, and the aggravation of the international tension and the plans for the placement of new American missiles in Western Europe, the symposium participants emphasized, all the detachments of the workers, including the social-democratic parties and organizations, have been called upon to unite their efforts in the fight for the urgent rights of nations, for social progress, against the arms race, against the growing military threat, and for peace and security.

5075

CSO: 1807/276

INTERNATIONAL

MEDICAL RESEARCH ON NUCLEAR WAR EFFECTS REPORTED

Moscow MEDITSINSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 May 83 p 3

[Article by Academician of the Academy of Medical Sciences, USSR, L. Il'in, vice-chairman of the Soviet committee "Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War": "Let us Uphold the Cause of Peace! Physicians Against the Nuclear Threat."]

[Excerpts] Soviet medical scientists and physicians--members of the Soviet committee "Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War which is affiliated with the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, are making their contribution to this noble undertaking.

For several years the committee has carried out a broad series of comprehensive scientific studies on quantitative assessments of the medical consequences of the use of nuclear weaponry, including in case of a total thermonuclear catastrophe studies of health, hygiene and epidemiological problems that would arise from nuclear war, etc.

The appraisals of the possible medical and biological consequences of the use of nuclear weapons that we carried out were the foundation for the summary documents adopted by international congresses I and II of the World Physicians' Movement for the Prevention of Nuclear War. They were used in the work of a number of national conferences of foreign public organizations struggling for the prevention of nuclear arms. They are contained in the main section of the report "Consequences of Nuclear War for the Health of the Population and Public Health Services," prepared by the International Committee of Experts in the Field of Medicine and Public Health; Soviet medical scientists participated in the work of this committee. This report is presented for the consideration of the 36th session of the World Public Health Assembly, taking place in May of this year.

The scientific data of the Soviet medical scientists and their foreign colleagues leave no illusions whatsoever regarding the catastrophic consequences of thermonuclear war for human civilization. These materials unequivocally testify to the unrealistic nature of the notorious doctrines of "limited" or protracted nuclear war and of similar "concepts" of the militaristic circles in the West. The goal of these circles is to come to the use of brute strength in international relations, in attempts to prove the possibility of victory in nuclear war.

Members of the Soviet committee--leading specialists in various fields of medicine--taking part in the proceedings of the international conferences and symposia, repeatedly took a stand for the Soviet Union's position on this most important problem of the modern world. In March of 1983, at the invitation of their Italian colleagues, a delegation of Soviet medical scientists headed by co-chairman of the movement of "World Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War" and president of the Soviet committee, Academician Ye. I. Chazovyy, participated in the proceedings of the first National Conference dedicated to the problem of the medical consequences of nuclear war. Their work took place during a period of marked public resistance to the placement of American winged missiles equipped with nuclear warheads in a territory of this country, a member of the NATO block.

In December of last year in Moscow, the first All-Union Conference of the Soviet Committee "Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War" took place, with 1000 medical scientists, experienced public health workers and students of medical institutions participating in its work. These participants unanimously passed an appeal to the medical employees of our country and to foreign colleagues, angrily condemning the attempts of the imperialists to plunge the world into the abyss of nuclear catastrophe and sounding the appeal to fight against nuclear madness.

The mass information facilities of our country publicized repeatedly through radio and television broadcasts the speeches of Soviet medical scientists on problems in the struggle of the Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War. Extremely significant in this regard was a one-hour roundtable discussion by medical scientists from the USSR and USA, organized by Central television and seen by more than 150 million Soviet television viewers.

At this moment the Soviet committee is making active preparation for the III International Congress, which will take place in the Netherlands in June under the motto "The illusion of surviving nuclear war." Our delegation has already participated in the work of its preparatory conference. Organizational questions for holding the new forum of world physicians, a scientific program for the meetings and problem themes for discussion in working groups were discussed in the course of this conference with delegations of other national committees. One of the principal reports at the plenary session of the congress will be the report of Soviet scientists on the immediate medical and biological consequences of nuclear war.

12262

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NATIONAL

AGRICULTURE MINISTER MESYATS INTERVIEWED ON FOOD PROGRAM

PM271450 Moscow CHELOVEK I ZAKON in Russian No 5, May 83 (signed to press 7 Apr 83) pp 4-12

[Interview with V. K. Mesyats, member of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR minister of agriculture, by "our correspondent" Ya Shestopal under the rubric "Legal University": "The Land Needs Proprietorial Thriftiness"--date and place not specified]

[Text] [Shestopal] Valentin Karpovich, a year has elapsed since the adoption of the USSR Food Program. What has it been like for the rural working people and what are its results?

[Mesyats] It must be said that the first steps in implementing the USSR Food Program had to be taken in a fairly difficult situation. Whether we want it or not, weather conditions thus far have affected our work. For a number of the country's major arable farming regions these conditions have been unfavorable, even harsh. Only the selfless, sometimes truly heroic, labor of the arable farmers and stockraisers and the daily organizational work of the party, soviet, and economic organs, augmented by the kolkhoz and sovkhoz material and technical base which has been created and is being constantly strengthened, have made it possible to obtain quite good results in many oblasts, krais, and republics.

In 1982 some 4 percent more gross agricultural output was obtained than in 1981. There was an increase in grain production--considerably more rye, buckwheat and millet reached the state granaries than in the previous year. The production of sugar beets increased 17 percent and purchases rose 20 percent. The sale of potatoes to the state rose 17 percent, and the sale of vegetables 14 percent. A good harvest of cotton, grapes, and leaf tea was obtained. More fruit and berries were sold to the state.

Milk purchases increased 2.5 million tons by comparison with 1981 while egg purchases rose by 1.2 billion eggs. More fodder was procured for stockraising.

The industrial enterprises "food workshops" are gaining strength. Private subsidiary farms are also giving a good account of themselves.

Virtually all the union republics have made their contribution to the solution of these tasks. But those who, despite the difficulties, were able to

fulfill and overfulfill the plans for selling the most important types of agricultural output deserve special praise. These include above all the grain growers of Krasnodar, Stavropol, and Krasnoyarsk Krays, the Tatar ASSR; Tambov, Kursko, and many other oblasts of the RSFSR; Kharkov, Poltava, Cherkassy, and Crimean Oblasts in the Ukraine; and Kustanay, Aktyubinsk, and Kzyl-Orda Oblasts in Kazakhstan. The arable farmers of the Baltic republics have worked fruitfully. The workers of Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Moldavia have achieved great successes in the production of grain, grapes, and leaf tea. The master cotton growers of Uzbekistan delighted the country again by successfully fulfilling their socialist pledges and selling the state over 6 million tons of raw cotton.

[Shestopal] From what you have said, Valentin Karpovich, it is clear that the weather can be controlled if it is resisted....

[Mesyats] If it is resisted using the achievements of scientific and technical progress and leading experience. For agriculture that means primarily introducing in all regions of the country without exception scientifically substantiated arable farming systems making it possible to adapt the work of kolkhozes and sovkhozes better to specific soil and climatic conditions.

Here we attach and will continue to attach paramount significance to the introduction and assimilation of correct crop rotations, to the rational structure of crops with the necessary areas of fallow land and perennial grasses, especially in arid zones, to the stepping up of selection and the precise organization of industrial seed growing, to the more effective use of reclaimed land, equipment, organic and mineral fertilizers, and the soil-conserving system of arable farming, and to progressive forms of organizing and remunerating work. Scientifically substantiated systems have been elaborated in practice now for all republics, krays, oblasts, and rayons. In brief, if matters are managed in a scientific, proprietorial manner, using our heads, as they say, then the results will not be slow in making themselves felt. But we have no time for hesitation. The present year must be a year of the mass introduction of scientifically substantiated systems of arable farming and everything new and progressive given to us by science and practice.

[Shestopal] Obviously, a definite role here should be played by the consolidation of labor and technological discipline in the rural collectives?

[Mesyats] Undoubtedly. And not only that. The further consistent implementation of the party's agrarian policy and the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee May and November (1982) Plenums requires a considerable increase in organization, the consolidation of state and labor discipline, and the reinforcement of legality in all agricultural production links. In this connection great tasks arise in forming in arable farmers a conscious, communist attitude toward labor and state and kolkhoz property and an uncompromising approach in the struggle against violations of legality and law and order. Special importance attaches to legal propaganda among agricultural workers.

[PM271451] [Mesyats continues] It is no secret that some officials and specialists in our sector still have only a poor knowledge of the legislation governing the production, economic, and cultural and consumer service activity

of kolkhozes and sovkhoses and commit errors in applying legal education rural workers' labor. Little attention is paid to the legal education of farm specialists and leaders.

The Collegiums of the USSR Ministry of Agriculture and USSR Ministry of Justice, the Presidium of the Agricultural Workers Trade Union Central Committee and the Board of the all-union Znaniye society recently jointly outlined a number of specific legal propaganda measures. Their implementation will help to enhance labor and executive discipline and will make it possible to create a clear-cut system for the field workers' legal education. Important steps will also be taken in consolidating the legal service locally and stepping up the role of village meetings and general meetings of kolkhoz members and workers at sovkhoses and other agricultural enterprises.

[Shestopal] What are the main, fundamental tasks in implementing the Food Program facing the rural workers, and how will they resolve them?

[Mesyats] The key task of agricultural production--and this is emphasized in the Food Program--remains the struggle for grain, for the further accelerated buildup of the production of high-quality food and fodder grain. The large-scale financial and material and technical resources, the countryside's powerful economic and scientific and technical potential, all our agriculture's internal reserves and opportunities, and all the rural workers' efforts are directed toward this goal. The chief, main path for resolving this task is the further intensification of grain production, the universal introduction, as I have already said, of scientifically substantiated arable farming systems. Practice convincingly shows that the comprehensive utilization of all factors for the growth of grain production envisaged by these systems ensures the creation of the necessary conditions for the growth of the yield and gross harvests of grain crops. Even in the most unfavorable years many kolkhozes and sovkhoses, having assimilated zonal arable farming systems, steadily obtain 25, 40, 50 or more quintals of grain per hectare. An enormous reserve, as you can see. It is a question of making the maximum use of it.

Increasing the production of durum and strong wheat strains deserves particularly close attention today. It is a fact that here we are beginning to lose the positions we have already gained. In many oblasts and rayons it has become virtually the rule to fail to fulfill the plans for procurements of these strains from one year to the next. Yet without high quality wheats it is impossible to satisfy the population's requirements for good bread, pasta, and other items. It must be frankly admitted that agricultural organs sometimes overlook this. In fact, areas sown to durum wheat are being reduced, and because of violations of agricultural procedures procurements of strong wheats are decreasing, while leaders at local level are giving their tacit consent to this situation.

Of course, we cannot tolerate this practice any further. Measures to increase the production of durum and strong wheats have been drafted and the demand made on people for their implementation will be most stringent, irrespective of the posts they occupy.

After all, experience shows that if we embark on work most persistently and purposefully there is no task which cannot be resolved. I shall cite just the example of rye production. The party Central Committee and government once seriously criticized us for lagging behind as regards this crop. Matters even reached the point where the population's demand for rye bread was not fully satisfied. Now, as a result of the steps which have been taken, the situation has improved markedly. In 1982 almost twice as much rye was procured as in 1980.

Much has also been done to increase gross yields of grain crops and corn. Last year considerably more of this valuable crop was obtained than the annual average for the 10th Five-Year Plan. I recall that the Food Program has defined our corn requirement as being 17-20 million tons.

We have accumulated definite experience in obtaining good harvests of other crops--sugar beets, sunflowers, flax, potatoes, and vegetables. If we introduce this experience everywhere and use all existing opportunities it will undoubtedly be possible to achieve far greater successes. And the field workers well understand their responsibility for this.

A subject of particular concern is stockraising. The main path for boosting this sector is its rapid and resolute transition from an extensive development path to an intensive one.

I note that despite the hard conditions of the past wintering, not only was a decline in the livestock population prevented but the population was actually somewhat increased. The increase in the number of young animals was considerably higher. A number of republics and oblasts achieved an increase in output of livestock products. In the first 10 weeks of this year 160,000 tons more meat, 1,133,000 tons more milk, and 580 million more eggs were sold to the state than in the same period last year.

[PM271452] [Mesyats continues] However, if we assess stockraising productivity by the main criterion mentioned at the Central Committee November (1982) Plenum by Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee--the degree to which constantly growing public demands are satisfied--then it must be admitted that here we will have a lot of serious work to do. Enormous stockraising reserves lie in eliminating shortcomings like poor indicators for herd reproduction, livestock diseases, and murrain, in comprehensively improving breeding and veterinary work, strengthening labor discipline, eliminating thriftlessness, and raising responsibility for the results of production.

The main factor still curbing the sector's upsurge is the lag in creating a reliable fodder base. In addition the intensive expenditure of concentrated feed in conditions of the glaring shortage of coarse and succulent fodder has failed to produce the necessary yield and has led to the overexpenditure of valuable concentrates and a production shortfall.

The party Central Committee and the government are steering the agricultural organs and farm leaders and specialists toward a fundamental improvement of natural fodder lands, an increase in the production of coarse, succulent, and

pasture fodder, and the maximum reduction of grain expenditure for fodder purposes. The foundation of this work has already been laid. Last year 16 million tons more fodder units of coarse and succulent fodder were procured than in 1981. Areas sown to perennial grasses were expanded and are continuing to be expanded. This year they will cover about 30 million hectares (8 million sown to alfalfa and about 7 million to clover). As for areas for pulse crops, they will increase considerably. For instance, areas sown to peas alone will increase by 1.5-2 million hectares.

The rural workers' arsenal also includes other reserves for increasing the output of highly valuable crops. They will all be brought into operation.

[Shestopal] Valentin Karpovich, the CPSU Central Committee November (1982) Plenum stated that this year is the core year of the 5-year plan. What must the field and livestock unit workers do to make up what has been omitted, to scale the heights set by the country's Food Program, and eliminate the reasons for the lag?

[Mesyats] Great and stepped-up targets have been set for agriculture in the third year of the 5-year plan. It is essential to increase the production of sugar beets 34 percent, of sunflowers 24 percent, of potatoes 14 percent, vegetables 2 percent, fruit and berries 11 percent, and fiber flax 21 percent. Stockraising productivity must be sharply increased and the state must be sold 1.2 million tons more livestock and poultry, 1.6 million tons more milk, and 5,000 tons more wool. On average gross agricultural output must increase 9 percent by comparison with 1982.

It is important to note here that the fulfillment of these targets is reliably backed up by financial, material, and technical resources. The state is lavish with funds for the development of the agroindustrial complex sectors. Capital investments for these purposes are most substantial. They will be used for the further consolidation of the countryside's material and technical base, the construction of fodder production and fodder preparation establishments, vegetable, potato, and fruit storage facilities, and the solution of the countryside's social problems. The farms will obtain a large quantity of powerful new tractors, trucks of varying capacity, combines, other highly productive equipment, mineral fertilizers, and chemicals.

It is the duty of every agricultural worker to ensure the rational, thrifty use of this wealth and to bring the internal reserves and potential of kolkhozes and sovkhozes into operation more vigorously.

The forthcoming new tasks have required a painstaking in-depth analysis of the results of the past agricultural year and the elaboration of measures making it possible to obtain more output of better quality with fewer expenses and production outgoings.

It was not for nothing that I mentioned expenses and production outgoings. We are far from indifferent to the price at which plan fulfillment is obtained. It is a case of the economic effectiveness of agricultural production and loss-free, highly profitable work by every kolkhoz and sovkhoz. Unfortunately,

a considerable number of kolkhozes and sovkhozes completed the year with substantial losses.

Serious steps have been taken to normalize the rural economy. As of 1 January 1983 purchase prices were increased, markups were introduced on them for unprofitable and loss-making farms, and bank loans were written off or extended. The payment of the work of leading workers and specialists was increased and measures were envisaged for eliminating loss-making and increasing profitability. Increased wages have been introduced for teams using the collective contract, length-of-service increments have been established for livestock raisers, the dimensions of payment in kind have increased, and other important measures have been implemented and designed to interest the rural labor collectives in the end result of their work.

[PM271453] [Mesyats continues] Economic questions are now to the fore. Every leader and specialist must know how to count money and investigate in depth the cost to the farm of producing a particular type of output. The state will not allow funds to be spent on purposes for which they were not intended and will demand a strict account of every ruble spent.

The thrifty, skilled, purposeful use of the enormous production potential and great material resources which the kolkhoz and sovkhozes possess, the widespread dissemination of the team contract, whose gist, as is well known, consists in autonomous financing, the all-around enlistment of the broad masses to the management of their farms' affairs--that is the path for further increasing the production of agricultural output and strengthening the economy. Entering the core year of the 5-year plan, the rural workers, proceeding from the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee November (1982) Plenum and the speech delivered at the plenum by Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, have widely launched socialist competition for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of plans and for the economical expenditure of funds and material and technical resources and are struggling, with the aid of economic, legal, and other means against inaction and irresponsibility and for the raising of discipline and organization.

[Shestopal] And it is the new organs for the management of agricultural production created to execute the decision of the CPSU Central Committee May (1982) Plenum which are called on to lead all this?

[Mesyats] Absolutely correct.

[Shestopal] So how do matters stand with regard to their organization and the legal backup for their activity, Valentin Karpovich?

[Mesyats] I shall try to answer this question briefly. In November 1982 the USSR Council of Ministers validated the standard regulation on the rayon agro-industrial association and the standard regulation on the oblast and republican (autonomous republic) agroindustrial association, which regulate the procedure for their creation and their composition, rights and duties, and tasks.

In accordance with these regulations, rayon agroindustrial associations are created in rayons and oblast agroindustrial associations are created in oblasts.

The leadership of the association is exercised by its council--the supreme organ, which includes the chiefs of agricultural administrations, kolkhoz chairmen and sovkhos directors, and also the leaders of enterprises and organizations of other sectors of the agroindustrial complex and representatives of relevant public organizations.

All kolkhozes, sovkhos, and other enterprises and organizations belonging to the association retain their economic autonomy, their rights as legal entities, and their departmental affiliation. And the organization of the associations' administration and the economic mechanism of their functioning assure the priority of kolkhozes and sovkhos as the main links of socialist agriculture. The rayon management echelon is strengthened and its role increases in resolving both current and long-term problems of the economic and social development of the agroindustrial complex sectors.

The associations are invested with specific rights in planning, material and technical supply, intersectorial production and economic ties, and the sale of output. They are fully authorized to equalize the economic conditions of economic management where necessary and to step up the interest of enterprises and organizations servicing kolkhozes and sovkhos in achieving good end results in the production and processing of output. In brief, they can do a lot, but they cannot give the farms instructions on when, where, and what to sow, as was the case formerly. The kolkhozes and sovkhos have been granted complete autonomy within the limits of their plans and targets and in the interests of production. The masters of the land do not need petty tutelage, it only hampers them.

I should like to stress in particular that in forming agroindustrial associations everything possible has been done to prevent specialists from being taken away from the kolkhozes and sovkhos. On the contrary, the agricultural specialists released from interfarm institutions and various trusts and industrial bodies are sent to work directly on the farms to reinforce lagging sectors there.

The rayon agroindustrial associations have begun work on mobilizing the masses to make active use of the achievements of science and leading practice, struggle for a high degree of efficiency in agricultural production, and take broad part in socialist competition. The main thing now is to render them the necessary support, so to speak, in the period of establishment, and to help them join actively in the implementation of the Food Program.

A number of other normative acts have also been adopted governing the activity of various links of the agroindustrial complex. They will undoubtedly have a positive effect on our work and our partners' work.

[PM271454] [Shestopal] Since the discussion has turned to partners, I should like to find out something about their mutual relations. After all, with such a large number of subcontractors, conflicts frequently arise which must be resolved by legal means. How will they be surmounted under the new conditions?

[Mesyats] You are right. Such conflicts between agricultural enterprises on the one hand and procurement, construction, supply, and other organizations

servicing kolkhozes and sovkhozes on the other are not that rare. As a rule they are caused by narrow departmental interests: the committee for the supply of production equipment for agriculture [Selkhoztekhnika] has its own interests and so does the Ministry of Procurements and even the Agrochemical Services to Agriculture Scientific Production Association--an organization directly subordinate to the Ministry of Agriculture--has derived considerable revenue from the services it renders irrespective of what harvest is produced on the kolkhozes and sovkhozes. For this reason and also because of the violations of state discipline, plan targets, contract commitments and so forth that are inevitable under these conditions, the farms have sometimes incurred substantial losses. Thanks to the use of legal means, the kolkhozes and sovkhozes have succeeded in exacting substantial sums from these subcontractors--the procurement workers and construction workers of the Selkhoztekhnika organizations and others.

I am profoundly convinced that now that all our former partners have joined a single agroindustrial complex the responsibility for fulfilling economic contracts will be enhanced. After all it was precisely in order to interest them all in the end result of their joint labor that the rayon and oblast agroindustrial associations were created. Of course, it is not out of the question that vexed situations will arise, but they will be resolved both by lawyers and by association councils invested with the relevant rights and designed to ensure the correct economic relationships between partners in the agroindustrial complex, primarily in the interests of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

The role and function of the legal service in the countryside under new conditions will change, but will remain important. After all, it is precisely with the aid of legal means that we must struggle for the consolidation of state and labor discipline, the precise and unconditional observance of contract commitments, financially autonomous relations, and the profitable management of production. Obviously, it will be necessary to find some other forms for the work of rural lawyers and to regulate the legal service's activity in a different way.

[Shestopal] And one last question. It concerns the spring sowing. How do matters stand there?

[Mesyats] In fulfilling the requirements of the CPSU Central Committee and the government, kolkhozes and sovkhozes this year prepared far better for the spring field work. The repair of cultivators, sowing machines, and tractors was completed on time and in a good-quality manner. The cadres have been trained. The spring sowing has been and is being carried out in a more organized way. High-quality seeds are being used in almost all regions of the country. Some 30 million hectares will be sown to new strains of grain crops. That is 5 million more than last year.

Socialist competition has been launched among the rural workers for the successful performance of all agricultural operations of the third year of the 5-year plan. In response to the paternal concern of the party and government, the field and livestock unit workers are fully determined to do everything to mark this year with an increase in the production of all types of agricultural output and to make a substantial contribution to the implementation of the country's Food Program.

NATIONAL

OBKOM SECRETARY ON ORGANIZATION'S RESPONSE TO CRITICISM

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 May 83 p 3

[Article by V. Gusev, first secretary of the Saratovskiy obkom, CPSU: "Obstacles to Wastefulness." Subtitle: "PRAVDA Has Taken a Stand. What was Done?"]

[Text] The Saratovskiy obkom of the CPSU reports that the feuilleton "Pyramid on the Caterpillar Tracks" (PRAVDA March 18) was discussed at the meeting of the CPSU obkom bureau, where it was acknowledged that it is a well-timed and objective exposure of the shortcomings in the organization of labor in regard to the preparation, storage, processing and delivery of ferrous metal scrap and waste by the kolkhozes, sovkhoses, industrial, construction and other enterprises and organizations of the oblast. The party obkom bureau issued a reprimand to the director of administration of the agricultural obispolkom, V. Sharapov, for lack of the required exactingness in the engineering and technical work of the kolkhozes and sovkhoses, and for poor control over the correctness of the machine inventory and for having lost the production value of the equipment by turning it in at the Vtorchermet platforms without preliminary sorting.

The president of the production association for the production and technical supply of agriculture, I. Annenkov, was cited for not following the instructions of the RSFSR Goskomsel'khoztekhnika pertaining to practical help for the kolkhozes, sovkhoses and other agricultural enterprises in collecting and reprocessing scrap and waste ferrous metal and delivering them to preparation centers, and for not adequately supplying the farms with materials and equipment for sorting scrap metal.

The feuilleton "Pyramid on the Caterpillar Tracks" was discussed in meetings of the CPSU Saratovskiy gorkom bureau, the Voskresenskiy, Piterkiy, Yekaterinovskiy, Samoylovskiy, Turkovskiy, Vol'skiy, Novouzenskiy and Perelyubskiy party raykoms, oblast and rayon committees for popular control and combined staff of the obltsel'khozupravleniya [oblast agricultural administration] and obltsel'khoztekhnika [oblast agricultural equipment association]. Farm managers who have allowed flagrant disregard of government standards and instructions on the preparation and turning in of scrap metal were severely punished within the party order, and specialists responsible for this work had financial sanctions imposed upon them by

committees for popular control and inspections of the Gossel'tekhnadzor [State agricultural equipment surveillance].

Thus, A. Fomin, chief of the Energostroy administration was issued a severe sentence, A. Gorchakov, director of the plant "Serp i molot"--a sentence, and A. Glushach, director of the plant Stroy mash was cited.

The chief engineer of the Kolkhoz imeni XXII S'ezda KPSS of the Piter'skiy rayon, V. Tsibin, was relieved of his duties. Managers of oblast kolkhozes and sovkhozes were also severely punished.

The proper observance of government standards when turning in secondary ferrous metal waste was investigated in 254 kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and industrial, construction and other enterprises and organizations. Financial sanctions were imposed on a number of functionaries as a result of the investigation.

At the present time, a permanent commission has been created in each farm for the control of proper registration of machines, equipment, metal construction and tools that are unfit for further use. The obsel'khoz administration worked jointly with the obsel'khoz tekhnika to draft specific measures barring the turning of registered machines and their machine units into scrap without a preliminary sorting and checking for defects, making sure that the requirements of government plans for turning in scrap metal to processing enterprises are being unconditionally met by every kolkhoz and sovkhoz. All equipment registered in the farms in the required order will be sent to specialized obsel'khoz tekhnika enterprises.

The manner in which the actual measures are carried out is controlled by the industrial sections of the CPSU obkom and by rayon party organizations.

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NATIONAL

ROUNDTABLE ON USE OF SOCIOLOGICAL DATA IN PARTY WORK

Moscow VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS in Russian No 3, Mar 83 (signed to press 1 Mar 83)
pp 49-78

["Roundtable discussion: 'Sociological Studies in Party Work: Questions, Methodology, Experience, Problems'"; material prepared by M.F. Anderson, senior scientific associate at the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism Department of Affiliates and Coordination of Scientific Research Work, candidate of historical sciences; L.K. Vinogradov, chief of the Scientific Life and Publications Section of the journal VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS; and V.V. Shinkarenko, editor for the History and Theory of Party Construction Section of the journal VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, candidate of philosophical sciences]

[Text] Within the framework of the continuing discussion of urgent questions concerning the history and theory of party construction, a roundtable discussion was held by the editorial office of the journal VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS jointly with the Department of Party Construction and the Department of Affiliates and Coordination of Scientific Research Work at the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism to study experience of sociological studies in party work.

The roundtable was preceded by a seminar on the subject "Experience in the Use of Specific Sociological Studies in the Scientific Work of the Affiliates of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism," organized by the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism on the base of the Ukrainian affiliate. Associates from the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism and its affiliates took part in the seminar. It was opened by doctor of historical sciences professor V.I. Yurchuk, director of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Institute of Party History and corresponding member of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences; the opening address was delivered by doctor of historical sciences M.V. Iskrov, chief of the Department of Affiliates and Coordination of Scientific Research Work at the Institute of Marxism-Leninism.

In the reports and statements many important questions were raised connected with the role of sociological studies in studying present social processes and the use of their results in scientific work and the practical activities of party organizations. A number of proposals and recommendations were introduced at the seminar, aimed at further improving sociological studies conducted by the affiliates of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism.

Those participating in the roundtable discussion considered materials from the seminar connected with question of party construction, proceeding primarily from the urgent tasks of studying party leadership in a developed socialist society in light of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, taking into account the experience available to party organizations in this matter. The accumulation of such experience has been largely facilitated by the CPSU Central Committee decrees "On Measures To Further Develop the Social Sciences and Enhance Their Role in the Building of Communism" and "On the Status of and Measures To Improve Party-Political Information," [1] and others.

The measures outlined by the CPSU Central Committee to further develop and improve specific sociological studies and to obtain objective scientific information on the attitude of the different strata and groups of workers toward party measures in the field of domestic and foreign policy and the events and processes taking place in the life of the Soviet state and other countries, are being successfully implemented.

Sociological studies in party work are now being conducted almost everywhere under the leadership of republic, kray, oblast, okrug, city and rayon party committees, and also the party committees at enterprises. The subjects they cover are most varied. They cover many of the urgent problems in the guiding, organizational-party and ideological-educational activities of the party.

"Virtually all the republic, kray and oblast party committees," M.N. Zimyanin, CPSU Central Committee secretary, notes, "systematically conduct sociological studies and public opinion polls when preparing crucial decisions." [2] Various methods are used in the study process: interviews, questionnaires, and so forth; and up-to-date computer technology is employed.

At the same time, there are also certain difficulties and unresolved problems in this matter. Thus, E.A. Shevardnadze, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, has drawn attention to the fact that "workers are still encountered who live with the concepts of yesterday and are skeptical about the ability of the sociological sciences to provide real help in practice." [3] This kind of skepticism is explained by inertia, the inability to realize new opportunities for resolving practical tasks, and also the disparity sometimes met between the level of sociological studies and practical requirements, and the lack of skilled personnel.

The literature on the subject indicates that the increase in the number of and the geographical extension of studies results from the need for their further improvement, improvements in methods and organization, and enhanced effectiveness. [4] Study of the available experience is of enormous significance in solving these problems. It was precisely from these standpoints that those participating in the roundtable discussion approached their examination of experience in sociological studies in party work gained by the affiliates of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism.

The following took part in the discussion: V.Ya. Bondar', chief of the Party Construction Department at the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-

Leninism, doctor of historical sciences, professor; A.N. Makarov, chief of the Sector for Scientific Communism at the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Institute of Party History, doctor of philosophical sciences, professor; A.G. Zdravomyslov, senior scientific associate at the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, doctor of philosophical sciences, professor; M.S. Iskrov, chief of the Department of Affiliates and Coordination of Scientific Research at the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, doctor of historical sciences; G.I. Volkova, chief of the Sector for Party Construction at the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Institute of Party History, candidate of historical sciences; candidate of historical sciences N.D. Dzhaferov (Baku); candidate of historical sciences V.Ya. Dimante (Riga); V.F. Shevchenko, chief of the Sector for Party Construction at the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Institute of Party History, doctor of historical sciences, professor; V.S. Goryunova, chief of the Sector for Party Construction at the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee Institute of Party History, candidate of historical sciences, and A.A. Yes'kov, a senior scientific associate at the same institute; V.K. Rakashevich, senior scientific associate at the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee Institute of Party History, candidate of historical sciences; M.D. Slanskaya, senior scientific associate at the Moscow City and Oblast Institute of Party History, candidate of historical sciences; A.A. Tatevosyan, senior scientific associate at the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Institute of Party History, candidate of philosophical sciences; V.V. Shinkarenko, editor for the History and Theory of Party Construction Section of the journal VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS, candidate of philosophical sciences; G.S. Yentelis, chief of a problem group at the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Institute of Party History, doctor of philosophical sciences, professor; Yu.V. Danilenko, scientific secretary at the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee Institute of Party History, candidate of historical sciences; and V.G. Korol'ko, senior scientific associate at the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Institute of Party History, candidate of philosophical sciences.

The material is published with some abridgements.

The Role of Specific Sociological Studies in the Study of Problems in Party Construction.

V.Ya. Bondar': At the present stage on the building of communism, new and complex tasks face the party and all the Soviet people. The CPSU Central Committee November (1982) Plenum demanded that party committees develop organizational and ideological work aimed at successfully fulfilling the economic-political tasks next in line and further strengthening the USSR's economic and defensive might [5], which in turn results in a need for more profound scientific work by scholars on question of party leadership in society and the problem of party construction.

Scientific methods of cognition, including sociological studies, play an important role in the successful resolution of these tasks. I would first of all like to draw attention to the fact that in the history of the development

of Marxist thought and the history of the CPSU, rich traditions have been established for the use of specific sociological studies. Dozens of the classical works of Marxism-Leninism on questions of social development are based largely on these studies. For example, K. Marx' "Das Kapital" and F. Engels' "Position of the Working Class in England." A whole range of major works by Lenin on the party can be cited in which extensive use was made of sociological material. These include primarily "What Is To Be Done?", "One Step Forward Two Steps Back," "'Leftism'--a Childhood Disease of Communism" and others.

We recall that it was precisely on the basis of analysis of specific statistical material that in 1914 Lenin drew the surprising conclusion in his article "Objective Data on the Strength of Various Trends in the Workers' Movement" that the Bolshevik newspaper PRAVDA enjoyed the greatest support among the working class. It is also known that Vladimir Ilich not only made use of the sociological material to hand but also himself participated in conducting such studies. It was Vladimir Ilich who worked on the questionnaire for the party Third Congress, which was designed to clarify the opinion of party members, especially those working in Russia, on a number of very important matters that had to be reflected in the congress decisions. The questionnaire contained 15 questions, and many of them had "subquestions." [6]

Lenin also repeatedly stressed the need to conduct and make extensive use of the results from various kinds of social investigations. Thus, in the draft for the Soviet of People's Commissars decree on the Socialist Academy of the Social Sciences defining the main directions of its activity, Vladimir Ilich wrote: "... One of the primary tasks is to formulate a series of social investigations." [7]

Any specific (applied) study, including the sociological study, is an important and essential form of communications between science and life and the practice of the building of socialism and communism. The scientific nature of such studies can be insured given the condition that they are conducted on the basis of Marxist-Leninist methodology.

The successful realization of sociological studies is conditional upon the scientific compilation of their programs and methods, and also by the sequence determined for their implementation: selecting the subject for the study--party organizations, labor collectives and so forth--training specific executors, explaining the aims, programs and methods of the study to the collectives, making preparations for computer processing of the information obtained, and finally, analysis and generalization of the data obtained.

The working experience of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism Department of Party Construction, which has studied the activity of party organizations at industrial enterprises in terms of the development of activity by the members of labor collectives, indicates that specific sociological studies constitute an important means for the scientific analysis of the work and life of party organizations and for deep studies and generalization of the experience gained through their activities. They provide information on the status of the various sectors of organizational

ideological and economic work and the life of the labor collective, and they make it possible to reveal the actual links and relationships that, when taken into account, can insure scientific analysis of events taking place.

Take, for example, party leadership of the national economy. Here, the results from specific sociological studies are data on the motives for people's labor activity, the complete utilization of working and nonworking time, ways to improve labor productivity and production efficiency and liquidate work stoppages, and on the status of and measures to improve socialist competition and so forth.

The following can be the subject in studies of organizational-party work: studies of the social and national makeup of a party organization; motives for workers joining the party; the allocation and fulfillment of party assignments; the status of criticism and self-criticism; the activeness of communists at meetings; and so forth.

Through sociological studies it is possible to study deeply a broad range of questions concerning ideological work. Thus, these studies help in seeing the psychological features of the various social groups in the population and their specific interests; which is extremely important for the correct and effective formulation of many aspects of the work of party organizations. They make it possible to study the sources of information obtained by communists and nonparty people and the effectiveness of lecture propaganda and training within the network of party and Komsomol political education, to determine how the public regards given press materials, to understand the reasons for antisocial manifestations and so forth.

Thus, by using sociological studies it is possible to study many aspects of party work and the various features and specifics in the Soviet people's way of life. It is precisely this comprehensive, objective analysis of the reality that is an essential prerequisite for drawing the correct theoretical conclusions when studying problems in party construction.

In present conditions, when the range of questions resolved by the party organizations is becoming increasingly broad, it is particularly essential to conduct sociological studies. As was noted at the 23d CPSU Congress, with each passing day they are playing a greater role in solving practical questions--political, production, educational--and are becoming part of practical party work at the most varied levels. [8] Questionnaires, for example, are used by many of the party organizations in the Ukraine, Belorussia, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, and in Leningrad, Moscow, Gorkiy, Irkutsk, Saratov and Sverdlovsk oblasts. [9] Sociological studies are helping in the deep and comprehensive study of the intraparty situation, processes in the economy, and the population's culture and domestic life and the attitudes of workers, and in evaluating the effectiveness of measures that are implemented.

"The whole point is," V.G. Zakharov, secretary of the CPSU Leningrad obkom rightly notes, "that the results from studies and specific recommendations should be introduced more rapidly into practical activity. We have many examples of the good use of results from sociological studies, but there are

also examples of these services operating but producing no useful work." He rightly thinks that "there is an urgent need for better coordination of all kinds of sociological services and the creation of a unified methodological guide for their actions." [10]

Party and scientific workers must raise the level of their sociological knowledge so as to correctly organize and control research to improve leadership and management in the various sections of economic and ideological activity.

At the same time sociological studies should not absolutized or set off against other methods of scientific work. Questionnaires and interviews help studies mainly of the subjective aspects of given parts of reality, people's spiritual worlds, and public opinion. With their aid it is possible to obtain some data on a specific personality and on changes in views and attitudes toward various questions. However, these data cannot be used alone to comprehensively analyze the forms and methods of party work or to reach through to the essence of a whole range of processes that are studied by party construction as a science.

It is essential to take into account the specific nature of the subject of research, and, for each given case, the specific nature of the problems of party construction. Here, the classical, political approach is decisive, and these aspects of social phenomena cannot be formalized and reduced to quantitative indexes.

In conclusion, I would like to make a few remarks about practical procedure. First I would like to emphasize that scientists must determine the specific set of problems and subjects for sociological studies by proceeding from the tasks of the party committees. In order to improve efficiency and raise the methodological level of such studies, specialists in the field of party construction must conduct them jointly with the appropriate scientific research institutes, VUZ departments and enterprise sociological services on the basis of agreements for creative cooperation. Close cooperation must be established with the scientific research sections of the Soviet Sociological Association and its departments, especially with the sections for methodology, methods and techniques for sociological studies and the sections for the sociology of party work and the sociology of regional and urban development.

Party Leadership and Applied Sociological Studies.

A.N. Makarov: At the CPSU Central Committee November (1982) Plenum the CPSU Central Committee general secretary comrade Yu.V. Andropov noted the need for "accelerated work to improve all spheres of leadership in the economy--management, planning and the economic mechanism." [11] Improvements in party leadership in the national economy are aimed at a steady rise in the material and cultural level of the lives of the Soviet people and at creating all the conditions required for the all-around development of the individual on the basis of further improvement in the efficiency of social production, labor productivity growth and the social and labor activities of Soviet people.

Determination of the main task for the current five-year plan and of the development prospects for the Eighties is based on scientific analysis of the requirements for the development of Soviet society, subject to the general, program goal of the building of communism. Here, the party proceeds from the availability of actual opportunities for resolving these tasks: our country possesses a powerful scientific and technical economic potential, the sociopolitical unity of the people and their cohesion around the party are being strengthened even more, and the army of skilled personnel devoted to the cause of communism has grown substantially. The opportunities of the developed socialist society are being realized in a process of conscientious activity by the workers under the leadership of the party, and in the political, organizational and educational work of the CPSU.

Mature socialism is characterized by the integrity of its structure and growing unity in the economic, social and spiritual spheres and their mutual penetration and qualitatively new dependencies. "In the conditions of mature socialism," it was noted at the 26th CPSU Congress, "the interaction of progress in the economy with the sociopolitical and spiritual progress of society becomes increasingly close." [12] In today's conditions, party leadership cannot be oriented on improvement in only one sphere, even though it may be a very important sphere. It embraces all aspects of the vital activities of a socialist society.

At the same time it should be stressed that party leadership in the various fields of the life of society has its own specific nature. Party construction as a science is, by relying on Marxist-Leninist methodology, objective consideration of the various material and ideological relationships in socialist society, and the working experience of the party organizations, called upon to reveal the features and uniqueness of party leadership as applied, for example, to the political system, the national economy, and the development of science and culture.

As was noted by those participating in the discussion of methodological problems in studying party leadership in a developed socialist society in the light of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress [13], this leadership is a complex sociopolitical process that is effected through the purposeful activity of the CPSU--the vanguard of the working class and all the Soviet people. It is based on a profound knowledge of the psychology of people and of their interests, orientations, requirements, opportunities, opinions and so forth. Inseparably linked with the people, the party always tries to inquire deeply into people's everyday lives. Applied sociological studies serve as an important source for this kind of knowledge about people and all aspects of their activities.

For scientific leadership in the different spheres of life in society it is not enough to know only general or specific law-governed patterns; concrete information is necessary about the state of affairs at any given moment, the status of particular social processes, the dynamics of development in a given direction. This is an indispensable condition for the effectiveness of the adopted decisions without which concrete leadership in social processes is impossible.

For the party committees, sociological studies are not the only source of information, but they are an essential one. Information about the object of leadership obtained in the process of this kind of study is a basis for prediction, the determination of goals, and the working out of concrete decisions. It makes it possible to compare a decision with the course of its implementation and with the result of its fulfillment, and it serves as input when preparing a new decision.

In our view, in connection with the need to further improve party leadership and reinforce its concreteness and effectiveness, there must be a rise in the level of applied socioloigcal studies conducted on commission from the party committees and under their direct leadership.

Problems in Sociological Studies in the Work of Party Organizations.

A.G. Zdravomyslov: I would like to deal with questions that bear directly on the subject of this roundtable discussion. I think I am not mistaken when I say that the results of any sociological study conducted in our country can be taken into account in practical party work. It is only on the basis of objective and comprehensive information about the state of affairs in a given sphere of public life, and on the basis of a consideration of the influence of the specific features of social processes, that effective leadership in social development is possible.

Soviet sociology helps in understanding the complex processes involved in establishing the material and spiritual bases of the socialist way of life.

At the 26th CPSU Congress and in the materials of the CPSU Central Committee May (1982) and November (1982) plenums the need was stressed for resolving problems such as forming a new attitude toward labor, supplanting unskilled and heavy physical labor in the various sectors of the national economy, overcoming formalism in the organization of socialist competition, improving distribution relations, educating young people in the spirit of responsibility and socialist maturity, the struggle against drunkenness, the development of social activity in workers and so forth. A range of problems in organizational-party and ideological work have been outlined at CPSU Central Committee plenums, whose resolution requires sociological information combining objective and subjective indexes and revealing not only objective achievements also the attitude of various social and professional groups in our society toward these problems.

The sociologists face major tasks in studying the practice of party work, and especially intraparty work. The development of this scientific direction bears directly on party construction as a science.

What are the most important questions here? It is essential to pay more attention to questions of strengthening the authority of the party organizations in the primary production collectives. It is important to know wherein lie the sources of this authority, since by knowing this the party organization can effectively influence the administration, the trade union organization and the collective as a whole.

Those taking part in the discussion of urgent questions in the history and theory of party construction rightly noted the great significance of enhancing the authority of the leader in order to improve leadership as a whole. [14] It should be emphasized that the influence of the party on the masses depends largely on the authority of the party organization and of its leaders. Without authority there is no influence and no opportunity for influencing the complex processes of viability in a collective; and on the larger plane, there is no opportunity for perfecting the socialist way of life and the communist education of the workers.

A study conducted by the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism Department for Party Construction with the participation of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism Department for Scientific Communism has been devoted to this task in particular. The study was done at four enterprises in the country representing different industrial sectors.

In order to clarify the degree of authority enjoyed by the party organization, those polled were asked several questions, including the following: "Do you know who the party group organizer is in your sector?" A positive answer was obtained in 58.2 percent to 92.8 percent of pollees. Such a large difference, in my view, indicates that the authority of the party group organizer in production collectives is by no means uniform, and that many of them have considerable reserves for enhancing it.

Among the qualities primarily determining the authority of a communist, those polled distinguished active participation in public work, shock work in labor, and concern for common interests.

In our view, further investigation of this question should be linked with a study of the system of interrelationships between the party organization (including its leadership), the administration and the public organizations. The real authority of the party organization in a collective results from how it influences the creation of a normal, creative sociopsychological atmosphere in the collective and what educational influence it exerts on all communists irrespective of their official position.

There are problems in the work of every party organization. Revealing the nature of these problems and determining methods for resolving them make up an important direction in sociological studies. One of them is the study of the moral (and in some cases the material) dependence of individuals elected to the party bureau, party committee or trade union organization from the administration, which holds in its hands the main levers for controlling the collective, including the bonus funds, other kinds of incentive and so forth. It was noted in the Central Committee Accountability Report to the 26th CPSU Congress that in the interval between the 25th and 26th congresses almost 300,000 people had been excluded from the party ranks for actions incompatible with the title of party member. There is undoubtedly a need to study the reasons for this kind of phenomenon.

Many aspects of the life of the party organizations could be the subject of sociological studies. These include participation by communists at meetings,

the efficiency of the political education system, and work with youth. It is important that the subjects for studies be carefully thought through and be focused on a study of the problems that party organizations should resolve at the rayon, city and republic level; that studies do not suffer from descriptive prolixity; and that they contain more options for evaluating a situation from the viewpoint of a given behavioral strategy or a given system of action. And this requires professional skill and a high scientific standard in working out the methods for the study and organizing it. It is essential to have a sound knowledge of the conditions in which stereotypes are formed in people's consciousness, and of the ways in which information is moved. Each study should enrich both science and practice and not merely illustrate generally known attitudes.

Specific Sociological Studies: an Important Method in Scientific Work.

M.V. Iiskrov: Generalizing the experience from specific sociological studies in party work and party construction is an urgent problem posed by life itself.

The discussion that we are having is an extremely important and notable event in the life of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism and its affiliates. For the first time we are considering especially the question of sociological studies in party work. One typical feature of this discussion is the fact that representatives of different creative directions are taking part in it: party construction, scientific communism, party historians, sociologists; and this predetermines the comprehensive approach to the question under review.

Guided by party instructions, scholars in the affiliates of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism have focused their efforts on work on the most urgent questions of great theoretical and practical significance for CPSU activity, primarily the problems of developed socialism. Thus, almost two-thirds of the themes included in the 11th Five-Year Plan work plans for the affiliates are devoted to the study of various aspects of party activity and its social and economic policies and organizational and educational work under the conditions of developed socialism.

It is important, however, not only to determine correctly the direction and range of subjects for research but also to insure that they are carried out at a high scientific level and that results are obtained which are of practical use to the party and people. For this it is necessary to give more attention to improving the organization of scientific research work and to the search for the most effective new research methods making it possible to penetrate more deeply into the essence of the phenomena of the age and to understand them more completely.

Today, this is precisely the approach employed by scholars to sociological studies, which are playing an increasing role in solving scientific, political, production and educational questions. These studies serve as a reliable source of information and provide valuable information for reflection and for drawing conclusions and drawing up scientifically substantiated practical recommendations capable of activating the work of the party organizations in the spirit of

the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee May (1982) and November (1982) plenums. They help in sensitively catching the changes taking place in life and in finding new shades of meaning and the new boundaries of reality.

Sociological studies promote a strengthening of the link between the social sciences and life and in raising their role in solving the practical tasks of the building of communism. With their help significant successes have already been achieved in the study of the social aspects of many of the processes taking place in the material and spiritual spheres of developed socialist society.

The scholars of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism and its affiliates are not standing aside from this important and necessary matter. At a number of the affiliates specific sociological studies have been conducted now for some years. Their results are being used both in scientific work and in various kinds of materials prepared on commissions from the party organs.

Interesting and valuable information has been provided by studies conducted by the Sector for Scientific Communism at the Ukrainian Affiliate, the study group for CPSU modern agrarian policy at the Moldavian Affiliate, and the Party Construction Sector at the Turkmen Affiliate. Similar work is also being conducted in the Belorussian, Latvian, Moscow and Estonian affiliates.

Of course, there should be no artificial forcing through of an expansion of sociological studies nor any attempt to conduct them come what may. A "mania for questionnaires" does not serve the interests of science and can even harm things. Those participating in the discussions have rightly noted that, given all their significance, these studies are still only one of the methods of scientific work, and, moreover, a method that is by no means universal but that is effective only when it is correctly combined with other forms of scientific cognition. In each case, the conducting of a sociological study must be seriously substantiated and its purposefulness must be argued beyond all question. But if this work is organized only as a sop to "the fashion" it will lead only to a wasted expenditure of efforts and funds and compromise an important and useful thing.

It is essential that each sociological study should be fully backed in the methodological and method respects, and its program based on the firm ideological-theoretical foundation of Marxism-Leninism. No matter how partial or local studies may be, they must in the final analysis move out onto the broad springboard of theoretical generalization and conclusions.

When preparing and conducting specific sociological studies, the affiliates of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism must establish close creative cooperation with the appropriate sociological centers and recruit the specialists working in them; which can considerably facilitate success in the work. The experience from these studies must be systematically generalized and their results carefully analyzed, not only in each affiliate but also on the scale of the entire system of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism.

From the Experience Gained in Conducting Studies.

G.I. Volkova: In the Estonian SSR, the gorkoms, raykoms and party committees of major primary party organizations have been conducting sociological studies since the late Sixties. They are conducted by party workers who have received special training at the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee University of Marxism-Leninism and in the section for sociological studies in party propaganda. Applied sociological studies of party work are conducted by the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee House of Political Education and the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Institute of Party History. The republic's sociologists participate actively in this work.

We have a republic council to coordinate sociological studies, and its functions include establishing contacts between sociologists and party committees. General leadership of sociological studies of party work is effected by the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee.

Definite experience in organizing studies on the problem of organizational-party work has been gained by the Party Construction Sector at the Estonian Affiliate of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism. [15] The first such study, conducted in 1970-1971 on the commission of the Estonian Communist Central Committee, dealt with party meetings and their effectiveness. [16] It was necessary to generalize experience gained by the primary party organizations in this matter, analyze the most widely disseminated forms and methods used in preparing and holding meetings, and reveal new ways for enhancing their role and effectiveness.

At first a study was made of the available special literature, and a program and method for the work were worked out and a questionnaire carefully put together. The questions included in the questionnaire were attentively reviewed by specialists and party workers and the questionnaires were then confirmed by the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee General Institute of Sociology. The subject of the study was agreed with the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Organizational-Party Work Department. The affiliate sector for party construction then held a meeting with party workers from the Estonian Communist Party gorkoms and raykoms on the practical questions involved in organizing the study.

The work was conducted in the primary party organizations of 15 cities and rayons in Estonia. A total of 1,315 communists were polled, about 2 percent of the composition of the Estonian Communist Party. The regularity of party meetings, the content of questions dealt with on the agenda, the forms of participation by communists in preparing and holding meetings, and the nature of the decisions adopted and their fulfillment were investigated. Answers to the questions were machine processed with the aid of punch cards.

The results obtained made it possible to study and generalize experience gained and draw a number of conclusions and proposals that helped the primary party organizations to improve the preparation and holding of party meetings and enhance their effectiveness. This concerned first and foremost drawing up the agendas, increased activity by communists at the meetings, and the concreteness and businesslike nature of the decisions that they adopted.

The republic party aktiv familiarized itself with the results of the study at a scientific-practical conference on the theme "The Primary Party Organization: the Basis of the Party" organized by the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee and the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Institute of Party History, and then at a republic scientific-methodological conference that they organized on the theme "Sociological Studies in the Practice of Party Work." Material from the study was also used in scientific work. Since then, for 10 years information on party meetings throughout the republic party organizations has been stored on punch cards.

During the period 1975-1981 the Sector for Party Construction at the Estonian Affiliate studied the practice of party leadership in the trade union organizations: the main directions of this leadership at the level of the primary party organizations before and after the 25th CPSU Congress, its trends and features, the most effective forms and methods, and ways and means of improving them. Accordingly, sociological polls were used twice, in 1975 and in 1979-1980. A total of 1,247 communists participated in these polls in the primary party organizations in Tallinn, Narva, Kokhtla-Yarve, Tartu and Pyarnu. An absolute majority of them noted the growing responsibility of their own organizations for the work of the trade unions and enhanced demandingness from communists elected to the trade union organizations. Analysis of the study results also helped in revealing the shortcomings, the weak areas and the unresolved questions in party leadership in the trade union organizations.

Results from the work were discussed by the problem group for party construction, which unites scholars and workers from the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee and the gorkoms and raykoms, at theoretical conferences, by the scientific council of the institute, and in the party committees and party bureaus at the enterprises where the questionnaires were used. Part of the results were published in two scientific publications. [17]

In April 1982 the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Institute of Party History held a scientific-practical conference on the base of the primary party organizations at the "Baltiyskaya manufaktura" combine. The subject of the conference was "On Further Improving and Developing the Forms and Methods of Party Leadership in the Trade Union Organizations and Enhancing Their Role in the Building of Communism in Light of the Decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress."

In the primary organizations where the studies were conducted, on the basis of analysis of the results and recommendations from the institute party construction sector, plans were adopted (long-term and annual) for measures aimed at further improving party leadership in the plant and factory and local committees, the trade unions and all political-mass and organizational work, and the mobilization of collectives to fulfillment and overfulfillment of the tasks of the 11th Five-Year Plan.

The final results from the study will be used in further scientific work devoted to the activity of the Estonian Communist Party in the leadership of the trade unions under the conditions of developed socialism.

In 1979, a study was initiated at the institute on communists' personal affairs over the period 1920-1940, stored in party archives, in order to extend the source base for the history of party construction in the Estonian Communist Party. Punch cards were made up for the personal affairs of communists together with methodological instructions, and an experiment was conducted that confirmed the correctness of the ways questions were set in the punch cards. The study is calculated to cover the entire present five-year period. By now more than 5,000 sets of personal affairs have been processed and 1,239 of them have been provided with a detailed annotation. Almost the entire set of archives dealing with communists' personal affairs has been processed, and a sociological questionnaire is being prepared which it is intended to machine process. In the near future the conclusions obtained will be used in a book on organizational-party work in the Estonian Communist Party during the period 1920-1940.

Many difficulties were encountered when this work was being done. The chief difficulty was the lack of cadres possessing methodological knowledge for sociological, and in particular historical-sociological, studies.

In the future the associates of the Sector for Party Construction in the Estonian Affiliate plan to conduct sociological studies of party work. Their usefulness and need is beyond all doubt since they provide interesting material that cannot be obtained in other ways. They help in drawing up concrete proposals and recommendations aimed at further enhancing the effectiveness of party work in light of the tasks set by the 26th CPSU Congress and in the CPSU Central Committee November (1982) Plenum and the joint ceremonial meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet and RSFSR Supreme Soviet devoted to the 60th anniversary of the USSR.

However, for further improvement in the organization and conducting of specific sociological studies and the use of their results in the scientific work of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism and its affiliates, a number of organizational problems must be solved.

First, in order to impart greater purposefulness and effectiveness to the studies conducted at the local level, it would be necessary to create at the Institute of Marxism-Leninism a center or council to coordinate the efforts of all specialists in the field of party construction engaged in questions of the sociology of party work.

Second, it is necessary to draw up unified programs and methodologies for sociological studies of party work and to recruit more broadly for them specialists in the field of party history and party construction.

Third, the time has come to organize training in the methodology of sociological studies of party work on an all-union scale, and to organize the exchange of information between the affiliates of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism conducting the studies.

N.D. Dzhaferov: The success of sociological studies on the urgent questions of party construction depends largely on the level of their organization.

and the precision with which they are conducted. Some experience in this has been gained in Azerbaijan, where more than 100 sociological subdivisions and services are functioning. By a decision of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, in all party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms, councils have been set up to study public opinion and conduct sociological studies, and all the ministries and administrations have the appropriate services formed within the framework of existing staff establishments. A special center under the republic communist party central committee headed by a central committee secretary coordinates the work of all these organs. Measures have been outlined and are being introduced to train and retrain specialists in the field of sociology and social psychology, in particular through the postgraduate system of the country's leading scientific research establishments, primarily the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Studies, and a probation system has been established for sociologists.

Republic, city and rayon seminars and practical courses are organized for the sociologists and party aktiv recruited for the studies, and an exchange of experience is held. In 1980-1981, students graduated from the sociology department in the faculty of the party-economic aktiv at the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism. A large group of sociologists attended a course on Marxist-Leninist sociology in the lecture room of the House of Political Education.

During the 9th and 10th five-year plans a number of sociological studies connected with the study of the attitudes of the masses, the forming of public opinion, party cadre policy and so forth, were conducted by the Baku, Kirovabad, Sumgait, Nakhichevan and Stepanakert gorkoms and many party raykoms, jointly with the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Institute of Party History, the Baku Higher Party School and other scientific establishments in the republic.

The links have been strengthened between the Institute of Party History and the country's scientific centers, primarily the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences scientific research institutes and the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Studies. An exchange of experience has been organized in the conducting of sociological studies on various problems of party construction with the other affiliates of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism.

As a rule the results from sociological studies are discussed at sessions of the party committees and at rayon, city, oblast and republic scientific-practical conferences. On the basis of these studies the institute is now preparing a scientific-practical conference on the theme "The 26th CPSU Congress on Today's Party Worker and Ways of Training Him."

Thus, sociological studies have become an important means in the work of the party organizations for successfully mastering scientific methods for resolving the political and economic tasks set by the 26th CPSU Congress and the CPSU Central Committee November (1982) Plenum. They are promoting effectiveness in party work and making it possible to penetrate more deeply and more fully and with a knowledge of the matter into all spheres of public life; and they

are facilitating improvements in ideological-educational work in the republic, increasing the labor and sociopolitical activity of the masses and forming the active life's position of the Soviet person.

The Planning and Coordination of Studies.

V.Ya. Dimante: In Latvia, in particular at the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Institute of Party History, definite experience has been gained in organizing sociological studies of party work. A number of scientific works have been published in which the results of such studies are reflected [18], including those conducted directly by the party organizations (in these cases the associates of the affiliate are not only the consumers of the information but also themselves take an active part in conducting the studies).

Sociological studies on the effectiveness of party work are conducted by the party gorkoms and raykoms under the leadership of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department. In order to improve the planning and coordination of this work, in the early Seventies a sociological commission was set up under the institute, enjoying the rights of a problem section of the republic council to coordinate scientific research work in the field of historical-party science. It operates in close contact with the scientific council for problems of sociological studies in the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences Department of Social Sciences and other republic organizations.

Coordination of sociological studies and actions to raise their methodological level and results are effected by the commission in the following ways:

it studies the range of subjects and programs for studies conducted by the local party organs;

it analyzes and generalizes experience in preparing and conducting sociological studies and introduces to the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee departments its proposals and recommendations on programs and procedures for conducting studies, using their results and storing material;

it helps the party workers in the gorkoms and raykoms to master the methodology and techniques for conducting sociological studies, processes and analyzes material gathered, and prepares conclusions and proposals and generalizes experience in their introduction;

at the request of party committees the members of the commission together with the party workers participate directly in preparing individual sociological studies and in studying their results.

The commission also cooperates with the departments of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee in conducting sociological studies on a republic scale.

During the 9th and 10th five-year plans, under the leadership of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department and

with the direct participation of the commission, several major measures were implemented. In 1975-1976 a comprehensive sociological study was conducted on the theme "Growth in the Material and Cultural Level of the Rural Population in the Latvian SSR and Urgent Questions of Ideological-Educational Work." Its aim was to seek out the directions for further improving ideological-educational work in the countryside. A republic conference attended by scholars from the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism and Academy of Social Sciences was held using material from this study. A number of less complex and smaller studies were also conducted in the city and rayon party organizations. In all, during the period 1971-1975, the party gorkoms and raykoms conducted 285 such studies, and in 1976-1980, a total of 368.

Since 1976 material from scientific studies on the effectiveness of party work conducted by the republic party gorkoms and raykoms has been stored in the party archives of the Institute of Party History. A considerable amount of material has already been accumulated and is available to scholars.

During the 10th Five-Year Plan all the city and rayon party committees had long-term plans for sociological studies. They have also been drawn up for the 11th Five-Year Plan. Certification of sociological studies and cadres of sociologists is carried out regularly.

Thus, thanks to the great attention given by the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee to sociological studies and the work of the commission, a good base has been created to insure that studies of the practice of party work under present conditions are conducted at a sufficiently high qualitative level corresponding to the new tasks set for the party organizations by the CPSU Central Committee November (1982) Plenum.

Comprehensive Studies.

V.F. Shevchenko: Under present conditions, sociologists are actively studying the work of the Ukrainian party organizations. As V.V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, notes, "the range of questions that the sociologists are studying 'in the interests' of the party committees, is extremely broad. They include problems of the effectiveness of organizational-party and ideological work and questions of Marxist-Leninist economic education, the moral-psychological climate in production collectives, the social activity of our youth and a number of others." [19]

The successful development of the various branches of science is extending the opportunities, methods and technical facilities for conducting such studies and making it possible to carry them out on a comprehensive basis, using various methods and means that help to achieve a more complete and deeper study of multifaceted social phenomena and processes.

Various methods of specific sociological studies have been comprehensively used, for example, authors' collectives for a number of monographs during a study of the Donetsk Oblast party organizations with reference to the selection, disposition and education of cadres, and of the Kiev city party organization with reference to strengthening control and checking of execution. [20]

Experience testifies in favor of the comprehensive use of different methods and the combination of fundamental and applied studies of a local nature that are limited in time and scale. Only this kind of combination, with a precise definition of the intention of the studies, program and plan, and reliability of the tools used, makes it possible to obtain an objective idea of the phenomenon studied and to avoid distortions and errors.

I would like to emphasize also the need to enrich the concept apparatus of sociology so that it can reflect with greater completeness and accuracy the essence of phenomena and processes inherent in socialist society and our party. Solving these and other questions would to some extent promote an enhancement of the effectiveness of sociological studies, obtaining really new information with their aid, improving the style of work in party organizations, reducing rather than increasing the number of documents handled by the party organizations, and concentrating the efforts of party workers and activists on direct organizational and ideological-educational work among the masses.

Repeat Studies.

V.S. Goryunova and A.A. Yes'kov: In recent years the Party Construction Sector at the Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee Institute of Party History has been making active use of the important source of information and the instrument for studying public opinion among communists and all workers provided by sociological studies, which are, in addition, an effective form for strengthening the links between scholars and life and the activities of the party committees and the primary party organizations in the republic.

During the period 1977-1982, with the aid of a supernumerary aktiv, the sector conducted 14 sociological studies of which 4 were repeat studies. In this way a study was made of urgent questions in the organizational, economic-political and ideological activities of the party organizations. As a result, rich material was collected and generalized on various aspects of party life, which served as a basis for theoretical conclusions and the drawing up of practical recommendations. [21]

The results from the studies were widely published and used in the practical work of the party organizations. Some of them were reviewed by the bureaus of party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms and discussed in the primary party organizations. Using them, concrete decisions were made and measures drawn up. The materials obtained were used in preparations for Turkmen Communist Party Central Committee and obkom plenums and for city and rayon party conferences. Some of the material formed the basis of reports at the all-union scientific conference on the problem "The Growing Leading Role of the CPSU in the Period of Developed Socialism" (Moscow, 8-10 December 1981). [22] The results from these studies were also used in reports at republic, oblast, city and rayon scientific-practical conferences and in the recommendations adopted at them.

The value of sociological studies particularly increases when they are repeated on the same subjects after an interval of 2-3 years or more. Experience shows

that repeat studies make it possible to conduct a comparative analysis of the data obtained at different times, show the practical significance of recommendations made from the results of the earlier studies and the degree to which they have been implemented, and help in determining more well-thought-out ways for further improving party work. Moreover, the difference in assessments of the state of affairs at the local level as found when results from earlier and repeat studies are compared serves as a good basis for determining the changes in the content, form and methods of activity in the party organizations and provides an opportunity for seeing pressing problems and difficulties and for taking into account positive experience and bringing available reserves into play in order to improve work.

A repeat sociological study was conducted for the first time on the theme "The Effectiveness of Forms of Political Training for Communists and Nonparty People" by the institute Sector for Party Construction with the aid of a supernumerary aktiv in late May 1979, two years after the initial study. Questionnaires were completed by 548 students and 28 propagandists in the advanced wing of party training in nine large party organizations in Ashkhabad. The information obtained helped to clarify the changes that had taken place in the work of the seminars since the results of the initial study were discussed at bureau meetings of the party obkom, gorkom and raykoms, and the recommendations of the sector approved and adopted for execution.

A comparative analysis showed that during the 2 years that had elapsed the party committees and these primary party organizations had done considerable work to improve the qualitative makeup of propaganda cadres, raise the level of their methodological and theoretical training, enrich the content of assignments in schools and seminars, and strengthen their effectiveness. And as a result, in the 1978/79 training year summary assignments passed off mainly at a high organizational and ideological level, which was seen in particular in the example of a theoretical seminar in the party organization of the locomotive depot where in May 1977, according to the questionnaire, 63.2 percent of the students had shown great desire and interest, whereas in May 1979 the figure was 85 percent; corresponding figures for those speaking at the study sessions were 57.9 percent and 90 percent respectively; and so forth.

Along with the obvious successes in the formulation of party training, the repeat study also helped to reveal the shortcomings in its organization and content. Thus, comparison of results from the questionnaires completed by students at a theoretical seminar in one of the large party organizations in Ashkhabad obtained in 1977 and in 1979 made it possible to reveal a trend toward poorer quality assignments for and activity by students. Whereas in the first questionnaire 84.2 percent of those polled indicated that they had a great desire and interest in their assignments, in the repeat questionnaire the figure was only 52 percent; the figures for those preparing themselves for each assignment were 47.4 and 32 percent respectively.

The repeat study also showed that individual party organizations were not succeeding in covering all members of the collective in political and economic training. At the "Stroydetal'" combine and the hosiery and knitted articles

factory the study days were frequently changed. Attendance at study sessions was low at the dairy and canned meat combines and among the management of the boiler associations. Taking advantage of the lack of control on the part of the primary party organization bureaus, some propagandists almost halved the duration of the study sessions, made poor use of active training forms, and did not use technical facilities and visual aids. A superficial approach to the study was often permitted at study sessions. There was also enthusiasm for discussion of current questions to the detriment of ideological-theoretical content of training. Having discussed the results of the study, the Ashkhabad party gorkom focused the attention of the party organizations and all propagandists on eliminating these shortcomings and in the future on overcoming any manifestations of pedantry, dogmatism or a formal approach to the matter. [23]

There was great interest in the repeat study of the time sheets for party workers and ways of making more productive use of time conducted in the Turkmen Communist Party Mary obkom and gorkom and the Turkmen-Kalinskiy raykom in February 1981, three-and-a-half years after the initial study. And whereas the initial study was conducted using the method of self-photography of the working week [24], the follow-up study was done using the conversation-interview (individual and group) method with the different categories of party workers, with fixed observation of the organization of their labor and a study of documents on their professional training.

The repeat study showed an improvement in the style of work by the party apparatus, but at the same time it also turned out that many important questions concerning improvements in the effectiveness of work by the party apparatus in light of the new demands had not been solved once and for all. The results of the repeat study, the nature of the questions awaiting a final solution, and new recommendations were set forth in a sector note sent to the party organs.

A repeat study was conducted on the work of the primary party organization at the Ashkhabad machine building plant imeni XX-letiya TSSR with reference to increasing the activity of communists. The initial study was done in December 1977 [25] and the follow-up study in March 1982. The latter showed that many of the recommendations introduced from the results of the initial study and discussed at that time at a general party meeting had been taken into account by the party organizations and this had had positive results. The activity of communists had increased, especially among the workers. Whereas earlier the circle of individuals speaking at party meetings was narrow, and was almost always made up of the same people, mainly leading workers, the workers too had now started to speak actively. Whereas in 1977 the discussion of questions at meetings of a merely formal nature, by 1982 there had been a marked rise in the level of criticism and self-criticism.

Questions introduced at the party bureau meetings had started to be studied more broadly and more deeply. The content of statements by members of the party bureau and other comrades testified to their high mutual exactingness. Hence, the more concrete the nature of most of the party bureau decisions.

The improvement in the work of the party organization and enhancement of the vanguard role of the communists exerted a positive effect on production affairs in the collective. It was the first plant in Ashkhabad to transfer to the brigade form for labor organization and wages.

However, not all the recommendations contained in the scientific account compiled from the results of the first sociological study had been taken into account by the party organization at the plant. It became clear during the course of the study that important questions of organizational-party work such as execution by communists of party assignments, organizing control and checking of execution of party decisions, informing communists about the realization of their critical remarks and proposals and the current activities of the party bureau and so forth had not been reflected in the work of the party bureau or at the party meetings.

From the results of the repeat study the party construction sector is preparing scientifically substantiated recommendations that have been confirmed by practice for further improving the work of the party committees and the primary party organizations in the republic.

Thus, follow-up sociological studies and careful comparison of their results provide an opportunity for studying more deeply and more comprehensively the experience of party work, noting new trends in it in good time and influencing their further development favorably, and obtaining a better view of shortcomings in organizational and ideological work and outlining effective measures to eliminate them as rapidly as possible. All this undoubtedly promotes not only improvement in the quality and effectiveness of scientific work in the field of party construction but also helps to improve the style, forms and methods of party leadership in light of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the CPSU Central Committee November (1982) Plenum.

Using the Results from Studies of Ideological Work.

V.K. Rakashevich: In 1965 the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee adopted the decree "On the Organization of Specific Sociological Studies in the Republic." [26] Since then, certain experience has been gained at the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee Institute of Party History in using the results of these studies, in particular those obtained as the result of studies of ideological work in the party organizations.

On the initiative of the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department, a sociological institute for sociological studies was set up to coordinate the activities of all establishments, organizations and training establishments engaged in these kinds of studies. Within it there exists a section that studies the effectiveness of ideological work. Sociological groups have been formed in the propaganda and agitation departments of the party committees, and training for sociologists has been organized at nine special departments in the universities of Marxism-Leninism. In 1970 the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee examined the question of bringing order to sociological studies within the republic, improving coordination and raising their scientific level and practical significance. The material base was strengthened and regularly staffed scientific subdivisions were set up.

All this extended the possibilities for conducting this work and using its results to generalize experience in communist education and further improve ideological-educational work in the party organizations.

A considerable proportion of the sociological studies in the republic deals with the spheres of the spiritual life of Soviet people and various aspects of party propaganda.

On the basis of the results from sociological studies conducted in the republic since 1967 a monograph has been published that reveals experience in creating the reserve of propagandists in the party organizations. [27] It was prepared by an authors' collective representing the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department, the problem laboratory for sociological studies at the Belorussian State University imeni V.I. Lenin, the Sector for Party Construction at the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee Institute of Party History, and the faculty of party construction at the Minsk Higher Party School.

Relying on the method of comparative analysis, the authors studied the results from the training of a reserve of propaganda cadres and generalized experience in this work. Important forms for the training and retraining of propagandists such as the universities of Marxism-Leninism, reserve schools, short courses, and the faculties of the social professions at the VUZ's are thoroughly examined in the book. The sociological studies making up the basis of the monograph were done in all the republic oblasts and in 5 cities and 18 rayons. More than 11,000 propagandists and students engaged in various forms of political training and economic education participated in the sample, main, and follow-up polls.

The data obtained showed the effectiveness of the system established in the Belorussian party committees for training the reserve of propagandists, but they also revealed certain shortcomings, and this enabled recommendations to be drawn up aimed at further improving work with propaganda cadres.

Sociological studies on the status of and prospects for improving the propaganda of scientific atheism have been conducted in different years. This work has helped in particular in throwing light on new aspects of the problem. First, the studies made it possible to obtain a concrete picture of atheistic education both in the various cities and in the countryside, among the various social groups in the population, and also for the republic as a whole, and to formulate the characteristics of the subject of atheistic propaganda. Second, a more concrete idea was obtained of the processes involved in the updating of religion and its adaptation to the new conditions. Third, trends were revealed in changes of attitude among the population toward the spread of the ideas of scientific atheism, and the effectiveness of atheistic propaganda and education was clarified more precisely. All this enabled the party organizations to take specific steps to improve atheistic work and its scientific and methodological bases. Results from sociological studies characterizing the status of atheistic education for workers in the republic and the activity of party organizations aimed at overcoming the vestiges of religion among the population were used by R.P. Platonov in his monograph. [28]

Guided by the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the CPSU Central Committee November (1982) Plenum, the propaganda and agitation departments of Belorussian Communist Party obkoms and of many gorkoms and raykoms are conducting sociological studies jointly with social scientists in the sphere of ideological-moral, international, patriotic and labor education. Their attention is focused on ways and means of forming in the workers a communist world outlook and developing their labor and social activity, and on the effectiveness of economic education, political information and cultural and educational work.

Sociological material substantially enriches the source base and is used by the party organizations when restructuring various sectors and spheres of ideological work in accordance with the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress.

Theoretical and Applied Studies.

M.D. Slanskaya: Studies in the field of party construction are closely linked with the practical activity of party committees. In turn, party workers systematically turn to the researchers. And this is quite in order since the CPSU invariably relies on the achievements of modern scientific thought in all the spheres of its own activities.

In their work the Moscow party organizations make active use of materials from the sociological studies that are conducted by the capital's largest scientific centers. The number of laboratories for sociological studies operating on a public basis and specializing in questions of party construction is growing steadily. Sociological councils to study public opinion are being set up under the party raykoms. Their activity is today aimed at providing practical help for the party organizations in solving the tasks set at the CPSU Central Committee May (1982) and November (1982) plenums.

It is usual to divide all these studies into the categories of theoretical and applied, according to their aims. However, if we look at the practical work in using their results in the preparation of scientific works on questions of party construction it is not easy to decide which are applied and which theoretical. And herein lies not their weakness but rather their strength. As a rule, in Moscow this work is conducted jointly by scientists and the party committees and pursues both goals, theoretical and applied.

As an example we can cite a series of sociological studies conducted by scholars of the CPSU Moscow City and Obkom Institute of Party History in cooperation with the party committees.

These were primarily two studies of educational work among young communists in the party organizations of Moscow Oblast whose results were discussed at a CPSU Moscow Obkom plenum and formed the basis of a book. [29]

A study with the participation of the institute is now being conducted in one of the rayons of Moscow. Its aim is to determine the effectiveness of propaganda of the socialist way of life and the efficacy of the struggle against the vestiges of the past and for the broad introduction of communist principles in labor, public life and everyday affairs.

The joint studies enrich both party workers and scientists. And here we mean not only a knowledge of the problem, but also work methodology and its methods and means.

Joint studies aimed at enhancing the effectiveness of the press in labor collectives have been conducted for many years by the CPSU Moscow Gorkom Propaganda Department and the Moscow organizations of the USSR Union of Journalists. [30] There have been two such studies. The first was devoted to a study of journalist cadres in the large-circulation newspapers and the editorial offices of the local radio. As a result, not only a professional-demographic picture of this group of ideological workers was obtained but also information on their service movements and sociopolitical and creative activity. The second had as its aim a study of questions concerning party leadership of the editorial offices for large-circulation newspapers and local radio. During the work use was made of polls, interviews, comparative analysis, content analysis and other methods used in sociological studies. The material obtained enabled conclusions to be drawn that defined ways of improving party leadership and improving professional and political training for "small press" journalists and precisely differentiating it. A follow-up study of the cadre makeup of journalists in 1982 confirmed the correctness of the conclusions drawn and the measures implemented.

The extensive factual material obtained in sociological studies helps much in further enhancing the effectiveness of party work. At the same time it becomes a basis for theoretical generalizations. However, in both scientific work and in the practical use of the results from such studies unresolved questions remain. It is necessary to work on a methodology and methods for studies designed specially for the party aktiv. It is important to orient scientists on the study of major, significant problems and generalizing more actively the experience of party work in light of the tasks set by the CPSU Central Committee November (1982) Plenum.

Experience in Studying Public Opinion.

A.A. Tatevosyan: In recent years this direction in studies has been widely disseminated thanks to the close cooperation between scientists and the party organizations. The main thing here has become the study of the quality and effectiveness of ideological and political-educational work in the party organizations and concrete forms and methods for exerting ideological influence. Joint studies by the group for scientific communism at the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Institute of Party History and the sectors of the Yerevan party gorkom confirm their expediency and their practical significance for party organizations raising their work to the level of requirements made by the 26th CPSU Congress and the CPSU Central Committee November (1982) Plenum.

At the same time, inadequate work on the concept of "public opinion" is hampering its operation both in various theoretical work and in the process of conducting the corresponding applied studies.

Unfortunately, it is not always taken into account that public opinion is formed in the different strata of society not only under an ideological influence but also under the influence of the specific conditions in economic activity, the situation in social, cultural and other fields, as the result of concrete changes in the system of social attitudes and so forth. Sociological studies in these directions would enrich various questions in the theory and practice of the building of communism and would be a substantial help in the practical resolution of many important questions concerning party leadership in the processes of society's development.

A study of public opinion among purchasers on the quality of consumer goods produced in the republic was recently conducted by the group for scientific communism at the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Institute of Party History jointly with the Armenian affiliate of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute for the Study of Consumer Demand and Marketing Conditions. Its aim was to create a scientific work generalizing work experience in this direction of party, soviet, economic and public organizations within the republic. The study made it possible to resolve not only tasks of a scientific nature, for example, showing the effectiveness of work by party organizations in leading further improvements and developing forms and methods for controlling quality. The information obtained as the result of the study is of definite value for the trade organizations and also the producing enterprises, insuring a sounder perception of management decisions concerned with improving output quality. A method worked out by the institute for studies has been proposed for introduction in the quality control system for output as an important element that insures reliable "feedback" between purchasers, trade organizations and the producing enterprises.

The conducting of sociological studies and the use of their results in the scientific work of the affiliates of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism require the generalization of available experience in this work, which on the whole is essential and useful.

Overcoming Fragmentation of Information.

V.V. Shinkarenko: Those participating in the discussion are drawing attention to the need to improve the use of results from sociological studies in party work. One condition for this is overcoming the present fragmentation of information.

The fragmentation, discreteness and incomparability of information obtained as the result of such studies are well known to practical workers and scientists and have been noted in the literature. [31]

Of course, it would be incorrect to present things as if all information obtained during the course of the work of the party organizations is completely disconnected, fragmentary and unsystematic. This cannot be because the studies are not conducted in a haphazard way. As those participating in the discussion have rightly noted, as a rule they are conducted under the leadership of the party committees and deal with the most urgent problems toward whose resolution the party is oriented. Here the sociologists employ

more or less similar methods having a common theoretical and methodological basis. Study results are brought to the notice of the party organizations and published in scientific publications. All this testifies that the information obtained has its own definite place both in the system of party work and in the system of scientific knowledge.

Practice shows, however, that a certain lack of order and a disconnection exist in the information obtained as the result of sociological studies. This is seen, for example, in the fact that sometimes it is impossible to compare even the results from one of them. [32] Even more often the results from studies conducted at different times and using different methods in different party organizations cannot be compared.

The fragmentation of information is seen not only with respect to its content but also its form. The fact that information obtained during the course of studies of party work is extremely varied in form is one of the reasons why it is fragmented. Information is now available mainly in various publications, namely monographs, collections, journal articles, brochures, dissertations, abstracts, reports and so forth. And this alone makes it difficult for the specialists to find it.

It must also be borne in mind that initial information obtained as the result of studies and contained in working documents is almost never seen in publications: these documents contain predominantly information already processed from a particular angle by the researchers. This means that each individual trying to familiarize himself with the published literature as a rule obtains, first, information in generalized form, which is often inadequate, and second, information generalized in a definite way, that is, in conformity with the tasks that faced the authors of a given work, without taking into account, naturally, the requirements of other individuals also interested in this information.

Fragmentation of information is not something random that depends only on subjective factors and individual workers who for one reason or another are unwilling or unable to collect it correctly. It is an ineluctable process which at the stage of initial accumulation of scientific data is inherent in any study, and it does not affect only party work. At the same time, a certain fragmentation of knowledge is one of the consequences of today's so-called information explosion.

A whole series of other factors also exist that directly affect the fragmentation of information. They include the lack of unified methods, inadequate planning and coordination, certain complexities in publishing the results of studies and so forth. To some extent they are interconnected. Thus, the lack of a unified method introduces into specific sociological studies a certain lack of coordination that affects first the formulation of aims and the development of programs and working hypotheses and the coordination of studies, and then their results. Costs [izderzhki: suggest "zaderzhki" = "delays" was intended--ed] in planning and coordination lead on the one hand to duplication and on the other are one reason why in party work there are still important areas that are not covered by specific sociological studies. The length of time

taken for the publishing process, in particular, leads to a situation in which results remain for years unknown to a broad circle of researchers, which in turn reflects negatively on planning for further studies and is one reason for duplication.

It has also been noted that the the growing number of sociological studies of party work and the extension of their programs typical of recent years are leading to the rapid accumulation of information. But this itself exacerbates even more the problem of its use for scientific purposes. For the greater the accumulation of unsystematized information, the more difficult it is to obtain access to it, become oriented among the multiplicity of various kinds of information, and find and use what is required.

Of course, the creation of unified methods for studies of party work, improvements in planning and coordination, and acceleration of the publishing process and other essential steps can slow the growing fragmentation of information. It is, however, impossible to solve the problem in a radical way by these measures alone.

In our view, it is possible to completely overcome the fragmentation of information obtained as the result of specific sociological studies only with the aid of up-to-date computer equipment. The level of development achieved in our country and the software opportunities make it possible to effect in a practical way the creation of an automated data system that would insure the storage and operational reproduction of all primary information available to sociologists studying party work.

Moreover, the creation of such an automated data system would make it possible at the same time to reproduce information in accordance with the new demands that are being made both of party work and the tasks of studying it. In addition, in the future an automated data system could become an integral part of a data system that also covers the information passed to the party organs through party and state channels, and contained in the press, letters from workers and other sources.

The practical resolution of this question, however, should be preceded by first a theoretical solution and then a methodological solution. The creation of this kind of data system requires serious scientific studies, primarily by specialists in the field of party construction. It is precisely they who could generalize deeply and comprehensively the experience gained in a number of party organizations in using computers in work with information, including that obtained as the result of sociological studies. [33] Generalization of accumulated experience in the light of the future creation of an automated data system for the needs of studies of party work would make it possible to lay truly scientific foundations for the correct practical resolution of problems.

Studies of the Social Activity of Communists.

G.S. Yentelis: Associates at the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Institute of Party History are conducting specific sociological studies in the republic rayons with the participation of the party and economic aktiv

and specialists and party workers. Most of them are organized jointly with the party raykoms. These studies have become an important source of information on the activity of the party organizations and a means of improving the link between scientists and party workers. In recent years the associates of the problem group to study CPSU agrarian policy have conducted more than 10 specific sociological studies.

Let us consider one of them: "The Activity of the Moldavian Communist Party in Improving the Effectiveness of Ideological-Educational Work in Interfarm and Agrarian-Industrial Collectives." One important task for this study was to reveal the degree of ideological activity among communists, the effect of this factor on further improving ideological-educational work by the primary party organizations, and enhancing its effectiveness. A study was made of the factors capable of enhancing the ideological-educational, general educational, professional and cultural levels of communists and their labor activity. Personal qualities, namely a responsible attitude toward assignments, conscientiousness, honesty, and authority in the collective, were also considered.

Analysis of the material obtained made it possible to distinguish three groups of communists differing one from another in terms of the level of activity. The first group included party members characterized by high activity and the necessary political consciousness and ideological conviction. They participate realistically and creatively in the formation of the communist world outlook and ideological conviction of rural workers and in the development in them of political and labor activity. The second group included communists who participate in ideological-educational work unsystematically and who do not have adequate skill but who nevertheless have achieved certain successes. The third group was made up of party members who take no part at all in ideological-educational work, the so-called passive members.

The studies helped to reveal the enormous reserve available for increasing the ideological activity of communists, and work out concrete recommendations for the party organizations. In particular, together with the Moldavian Communist Party Ungenskiy raykom, the institute held a scientific-practical conference at which concrete proposals were drawn up.

One important direction in present CPSU agrarian policy is improving the forms of material and moral incentive for labor. Much attention was also given to this question at the CPSU Central Committee November (1982) Plenum. "It is essential," CPSU Central Committee general secretary comrade Yu.V. Andropov said, "to create the kind of conditions, economic and organizational, that would provide incentive for quality, productive work, initiative and enterprise. And on the contrary, poor work, inertia and lack of responsibility should affect in the most direct and irreversible way both material rewards and the service position and moral authority of workers." [34]

Unfortunately, it must be stated that in the study of the work of party organizations in improving material and moral incentive, the methods of sociological studies have not yet been extended as they should. One direct result of this is the virtually complete lack of scientific work that would contain sound proposals for strengthening the link between labor incentive and other elements of the economic mechanism with enhanced effectiveness in all party work.

Experience shows that only on the basis of comprehensive study of the problem of strengthening the material and moral interest of the workers is it possible to trace the positive things gained by the party organizations and the ways that promote a further improvement in their activity. Proceeding precisely from this premise, in 1980 an attempt was made in Moldavia to conduct a sociological study on the problem of developing the interest of rural workers in the results of their work.

The study made it possible to reveal a number of, in our view, substantial shortcomings that lower the effectiveness of incentive for highly productive labor. First, within the party organizations in the labor collectives workers still frequently lack essential information on the results of their labor and the existing incentive systems. Development norms and plan targets for given work are not always passed on to every person. Less than half of those polled had a good knowledge of the existing incentive norms and systems. Second, the party organizations do not always consider that the wages and incentive systems used in many ways fail to match the changing conditions of production and fail to create the necessary interest on the part of each worker in the general, collective results of work. There are people to whom wages growth is being presented not as a result of production expansion and increased efficiency but as a certain legislative decision. Thus, for example, whereas 30-35 percent of workers plan to increase their own wages through improving labor results, almost half of those polled plan it through an expected increase in the piece rates. The studies also showed that elements of formalism have still not been eradicated in moral incentive. In the opinion of those polled (35.4 percent) the party organizations are not exercising the necessary control over the activity of the administration in improving the forms of incentive.

Results from the study were reviewed at a scientific-practical conference. At this conference concrete recommendations were adopted, providing for an improvement in organizational-party work in the countryside in order to disseminate and introduce leading experience in the use of moral and material incentive for labor.

Today, these materials are of special interest for the party organizations struggling to successfully fulfill the tasks set by the CPSU Central Committee May (1982) Plenum and further develop the agrarian-industrial complex and implement the USSR Food Program.

In February and March 1982 associates of the institute together with scientists from the Moldavian SSR Academy of Sciences investigated several questions of organizational-party work and the social activity of communists. More than 3,000 party members were polled and a number of factors promoting the development of activity by communists in labor and public work were revealed.

The use of sociological studies is opening up broad prospects for developing new forms and methods for party leadership in the socioeconomic development of the labor collectives.

Experience in Studying the Work of the Schools for Young Communists.

Yu.V. Danilenko: The subject of the first study of this kind in the scientific practice of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee Institute of Party History and its main tasks resulted from the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee decree "On Work Practice in the Republic Party Committees in Guiding the Schools of Young Communists," dated 28 July 1980. In order to consistently implement the CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Work of the Party Organizations in Kirghizia in Enrolling into the Party and Training Candidate Members of the CPSU" the Institute was entrusted in particular with the task of conducting a deep and comprehensive study of the training process in the schools of young communists and drawing up methodological recommendations for the periods of training and the range of subjects to be included in lectures and seminar study sessions.

In the process of preparing the sociological study the assignment was incorporated in an appropriate program. Together with defining the aims and tasks, work methods and the main stages in the work were outlined. In particular, provision was made for a questionnaire for students and propagandists, conversations with the secretaries of party organizations and members of party committees (or party bureaus), a study of party documents and other materials on the schools of young communists, and attendance at final study sessions. Obtaining this kind of information was to insure a comprehensive approach to the matter and extend the opportunities for comparison and hence for more complete and more accurate assessments.

The necessary degree of representativeness was insured by distributing the questionnaire among more than 1,200 students and 50 propagandists, representing 10 percent and 11 percent respectively of their total numbers in the republic during the 1980/1981 training year. Those polled included 51.8 percent workers, 20.5 percent engineering-technical workers, 10.2 representatives of the administrative and management apparatus, the same percentage of rural workers, and about 7 percent teachers, physicians, scientific associates and students. One-third of those completing the questionnaire were CPSU candidate members and the rest party members of from 1 to 3 years' standing.

The study made it possible to generalize positive experience in party leadership in the schools of young communists and to reveal certain shortcomings and the reasons for the shortcomings.

In accordance with the task of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee and in the spirit of the CPSU Central Committee decree "On Further Improving Party Training in Light of the Decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress" a number of practical recommendations were made to improve the training and education of young communists in the schools specially created for them. They concerned aspects of organization in the work of the schools such as establishing unified periods for training and periodic study sessions, the preparation of standard training programs, selection of propagandists and so forth. Using the materials from the study the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee Institute of Party History prepared and published a brochure. [35]

Criticism of Bourgeois Methods for Studying a Way of Life.

V.G. Korol'ko: As was noted at the 26th CPSU Congress, under present conditions the ideological struggle is becoming exacerbated. [36] In the psychological war being waged against the USSR, the fraternal socialist countries and the communist and workers parties, not only virtually all the elements of the government and propaganda apparatus of the United States and a number of other capitalists countries have been recruited, but also numerous institutes and individual researchers, including those specializing in the study of questions of the way of life, which concept has become in recent times, as CPSU Central Committee secretary K.V. Rusakov has noted, "a pole in the ideological struggle." [37]

Under present conditions, for example, work on the social indicators for the way of life in bourgeois sociology is subordinate primarily to the task of finding ways to escape the crisis situation in capitalist society and create within its framework a "new quality of life." Thus, bourgeois sociology hopes to find ways of overcoming the fundamental contradictions in capitalism and is trying to create a tool for determining the effectiveness and possible consequences of those social measures that are being implemented by the ruling classes. Special significance also attaches to proving with the aid of tendentiously selected social indicators the advantages of the "quality of life" under capitalism compared with socialism and to presenting the bourgeois "quality of life" in the most favorable light.

Today, the ever growing attention of bourgeois sociologists to the problem of social indicators for the way of life has taken the form of the so-called "movement for social indicators of the quality of life." Bourgeois social scientists who are the representatives of sociology and economic centers considers themselves participants in this movement. In the West, a whole series of national and international periodical journals are now published on the problems of the "social indicators." [38]

Of course, the quests of the bourgeois sociologists are not of a radical or constructive nature vis-a-vis capitalism. The ways and methods that they propose for solving the crisis phenomena in capitalism do not affect its foundations. Bourgeois sociologists erroneously think that the contradictions of capitalism can be overcome thanks merely to the timely availability of social data and their processing on the basis of optimal models for regulating and predicting social processes in bourgeois society.

The futility of these ideas of bourgeois sociologists as applied to overcoming the antagonistic contradictions of capitalism is obvious. Although modern applied social science helps capital from time to time to somehow solve particular problems, it cannot eliminate the radical contradictions of the bourgeois way of life. Moreover, even the solution of particular problems is not always successful.

At the same time, it is also important to pay attention to the substantial defects on the theoretical-methodological plane, typical of bourgeois sociology when working on social indicators.

First, the sets of social indicators for the way of life, as suggested by bourgeois sociologists, suffer from their limited nature and tendentiousness. As a rule they do not form an integral system reflecting the significance and role of all spheres in the way of life. One striking circumstance that is immediately apparent is that when compiling the indicators the bourgeois ideologists consign to oblivion the most important spheres of the life activity of people, namely the sphere of labor and the sphere of sociopolitical activity, turning their attention only to daily life and the consumer sphere. The class essence of the bourgeois way of life and its social-class polarization are ignored.

Second, the indicators worked out for "the quality of life" are predicated upon the collection of quantitative information about certain aspects of living conditions and do not deal with those qualitative aspects that are not amenable to direct quantitative expression. The bourgeois sociologists are not interested in the characteristics forming the way of life, the nature of labor, democracy, and social and political rights and freedoms, the content of sociopolitical activity and world outlook, the degree of participation by the masses in the management of public affairs, the opportunities for the all-around development of the individual, the coincidence of the interests of the individual and society and so forth, that are difficult to translate into the language of quantitative indicators. And it is precisely these very substantive characteristics of the way of life that the bourgeois ideologists omit when making any comparative analysis of the bourgeois and socialist ways of life.

Third, the attempts of bourgeois sociologists to take as the basis for the yardstick of the "quality of life" people's feelings and their satisfaction with given aspects of life suffer from substantial methodological defects. Mistrust of traditional statistics has engendered among them an enthusiasm for "subjective measurements" when the subject of the study becomes not the objective conditions of life but the subjective attitude of individuals toward it.

Of course, the study of people's opinions and assessments and their attitude toward various aspects of the life situation provides extremely valuable information about the way of life. Such studies are conducted extensively in our country. However, reducing objective criteria for the qualitative aspects of a way of life to a feeling of satisfaction and absolutization of the latter and disregarding the study of objective conditions in life, as is observed among bourgeois sociologists, do not stand up to criticism. Such studies clearly expose the class direction of attempts by bourgeois ideologists to translate the objective problem of the quality of life into the language of subjective feelings. Here, the hidden latent recommendation can be seen: skillfully alter and manipulate people's feelings and ideas about happiness and well-being and you will achieve the "new quality of life" sought. It is precisely this task that the bourgeois mass information media are fulfilling as they steer people's mental attitudes in the direction required by capital. And here they make extensive use of the recommendations of bourgeois sociologists and social psychologists.

Since they suffer from the illusion typical of bourgeois sociology, the representatives of the "movement" try to depict "social indication" as a way of transforming social science into a "big science" with whose aid they will allegedly be able to resolve all the social contradictions of capitalism as purely technical contradictions.

When evaluating as a whole the class direction of the "movement for social indicators" and its attempts to translate theoretical concepts and doctrines into the language of quantitative measurement of social phenomena, it should be stressed that this hides a desire on the part of the representatives of the bourgeois "intellectual elite" to enhance the efficacy and prestige of the social sciences in general and to extricate themselves from the impasse in which bourgeois ideology finds itself and to "breathe new life" into it. There is every reason to suggest that this "modernization" of bourgeois ideology is a long-term ploy. This should be considered by Marxist scholars on the plane of their readiness for critical analysis of those ideological concepts that could emerge on the crest of the bourgeois "movement for social indicators of the quality of life" in the very near future.

One most important help in this should be Marxist elaboration of systems of social indicators for the way of life. They are designed not only to make their contribution to the improvements in party leadership of socialist society but also to enrich the empirical base of our ideological struggle against capitalism.

In Marxist-Leninist sociology attempts have already been made to outline the base principles in the elaboration of social indicators of social development, formulate the main social indicators for the way of life, and systematize them. And on this plane we may make reference to published work by I.V. Bestuzhev-Lada, M.N. Rutkevich, G.V. Osipov, N.S. Mansurov, A.G. Zdravomyslov and other Soviet sociologists. Nevertheless, the problem of the theoretical elaboration of social indicators for the way of life and their active use in practice is far from solved.

Addressing this fact, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee V.V. Shcherbitskiy stressed that "it is now high time for a more complete elaboration of methodology for social planning and prediction of the way of life. The systems of indicators for the way of life proposed by our sociologists are still too cumbersome and imperfect. Suffice it to say that the system of indicators for individual 'blocks' in the way of life corresponding to the main spheres of people's life activities, as developed by the scientists, provides for more than 500 indicators." [39]

At the same time, despite the incompleteness of this work, the approach of Soviet sociologists to solving this problem is distinguished by consistency and a desire comprehensively to consider all spheres of people's life activities, and by the absence of tendentious interpretation of real processes and phenomena. The efforts of Soviet sociologists in this field are subordinate to the task of creating the kinds of systems of social indicators that would comprehensively reflect people's life activities and promote successful social progress in

our society and a well-argued comparison of development trends in the way of life of the classes, social groups and individual persons.

* * * * *

From the Editorial Office.

The exchange of opinions that has taken place on the urgent theoretical and applied questions of sociological studies in party work and the exchange of positive experience gained in conducting them, and also the postulation and examination by the participants in the roundtable discussion of a number of important questions connected with further improving the effectiveness of such studies, are undoubtedly of definite theoretical and practical significance.

The discussion has shown that among specialists there is no disagreement on the role and significance of sociological studies in party work. They evaluate them as one method of scientific cognition enabling party committees and scientific collectives to obtain important information about the opinions of various groups of workers and of the population on topical questions of CPSU domestic and foreign policy and the work of the party organizations.

Objective information provides the party organizations with an opportunity to see the real picture from the results of their activities, the real processes taking place in society. The documents of the CPSU Central Committee May and November (1982) plenums obligate us to this. As CPSU Central Committee general secretary comrade Yu.V. Andropov stresses, "we must soberly look at where we are. To move ahead means to push forward with unresolved tasks; to stand only on what has already been achieved means not to use everything at our disposal. To see our society in its real dynamic state, with all its opportunities and needs: this is what is now required." [40]

Sociological studies are called upon to play their role here. Taking into account the growing requirements, it is important that these studies are necessarily conducted at the proper ideological, methodological and methodical level. Herein lies the main condition guaranteeing that superficial and sometimes formal approaches to them are overcome. When the sociologists have a good knowledge of the features of party work and the specialists in the field of party construction make skillful use of the methods of sociology, then the role of specific sociological studies in party work will be neither exaggerated nor underestimated. Then the information obtained will immediately find its place in the system of scientific knowledge and be actively used by the party committees for practical ends.

The significance of comprehensive, especially follow-up studies, has been rightly stressed. They offer the scientists rich and varied material enabling judgements on the effectiveness of work in the party organizations. Follow-up studies conducted on the same sectors using the same methodology provide an opportunity for comparing results and revealing the dynamics of many of the processes taking place in the consciousness of the masses. It should be noted that such information cannot be obtained from other sources; herein lies its special value.

A study of the experience of sociological studies gained in recent years by the party organizations makes it possible to draw a number of conclusions about ways and means for further improving their effectiveness.

Problems connected with improving the use of results from sociological studies of party work deserve special attention. It would be expedient to consider also the creation of unified standard methods that would fully take into account the specific nature of the political, organizational and ideological-educational work done by the party organizations.

Questions of planning, organization and coordination of sociological studies of party work also require a special study. In practice they are being successfully resolved by a number of the affiliates of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism. However, the positive experience gained requires further generalization. In particular, there is a need for a most serious study of experience in comprehensive, long-term planning of studies, and also of the activity of the various coordinating organs--soviets, commissions and so forth.

The development of closer cooperation between specialists in the field of party construction and the scientific research sections of the Soviet Sociological Association and its divisions would promote a rise in the methodological level of sociological studies in party work and hence their effectiveness.

As was noted at the association's 5th accountability and election conference (February 1983), sociologists who are members of the association are helping the party committees actively in studying concrete problems. Thus, according to figures from the section for sociology of party work, 540 sociology subdivisions are now functioning in the party committees on a public basis. In the speech by P.N. Fedoseyev, particular attention was rightly drawn to the effectiveness of these studies, the responsibility of sociologists for analytical accuracy, the scientific nature of methods and the correctness of conclusions when studying urgent problems, and the practical value of their recommendations. Sociologists are called upon to study more deeply the concrete spheres of our life in all their varied manifestations and development, and the role of the CPSU and the party organizations in it. Permanent creative links between the associates of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism and its affiliates and the subdivisions of the association would undoubtedly bear new scientific fruits and be of real practical use.

Armed with the materials of the CPSU Central Committee May (1982) and November (1982) plenums and the joint session of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet and RSFSR Supreme Soviet devoted to the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR, the party organizations are now striving to increase the effectiveness of their own activities and to raise them to the level of the demands made by the 26th CPSU Congress. It is the paramount duty of scientists engaged in sociological studies of party work to give them every assistance in their power in this.

Those scientific collectives are acting correctly that strive to bring sociological studies close to the urgent needs of practice in party leadership

and the improvement of social relationships, and to solving the important tasks of our construction.

As CPSU Central Committee general secretary comrade Yu.V. Andropov noted at the CPSU Central Committee November (1982) Plenum, at the present stage the party organizations face "major and largely new tasks in all fields of economic and social progress." [41] Their successful resolution depends on many factors. One of them is the ability to focus the activity of the party organizations on the key directions of the five-year program and the entire program for the country's socioeconomic development in the Eighties. To this end it is essential to mobilize all reserves, knowledge and the experience of the best practical workers and scientists and to galvanize the organizational activity of the party committees.

The materials of the CPSU Central Committee November (1982) Plenum are oriented on making studies of the activity in party organizations, first, promote the unfolding of broad propaganda and explanation of the plan targets for 1983 and the 11th Five-Year Plan, second, help in insuring the correct placing of cadres so that "people who are politically mature, competent and enterprising and who possess organizing abilities and a feel for the new" [42] work on the decisive sectors, and third, promote an upsurge in labor, social and political activity among the masses.

In connection with the need to insure unconditional fulfillment of the plans for the 11th Five-Year Plan, the significance of studies of the influence of party organizations on the course of socialist competition is growing. The range of subjects here is extensive. It includes questions of further developing competition, support for valuable undertakings and initiatives by the workers, and generalization of experience gained in the party organizations, and questions of material and moral incentive in competition and its extensive publicity, and many others.

It must be acknowledged that the sociologists studying party work are still giving scant attention to questions of leadership in the economic sphere. And they have an enormous field here for their activity. Take thrift and a zealous attitude toward the national good. This is a major problem which is not only economic but also political and moral. It was stressed at the CPSU Central Committee November (1982) Plenum that it is a question of the realistic nature of our plans, and its solution must be insured by a whole system of practical measures. All the party committees and party organizations are doing much work in this direction. It is clear that sociological studies could become an important aid for them in this matter.

Practice provides many examples of creative work and a truly thrifty attitude toward the national good, but this experience, unfortunately, is still inadequately studied and, as was noted at the plenum, is not being disseminated as it should be. Sociologists making a deep and fundamental study of practical work in the party organizations, the experience of creative initiative among the workers, and the struggle against mismanagement and wastefulness, would be able to offer sound recommendations on the question of how and using what

specific ways and means it is possible to achieve a situation in which each worker, each toiler in the enterprise and the kolkhoz or sovkhoz would perceive today's tasks in the field of further economic development both as his own affair and his own personal concern.

When studying party work and leadership in the various aspects of public life, in no case is it permitted to lose sight of the concrete economic problems that the party organizations are solving today.

A central place here is occupied by questions connected with party leadership in implementing the Food Program and developing the agrarian-industrial complex. It was noted at the CPSU Central Committee November (1982) Plenum that accomplishing the measures outlined by the party for this important sector of the national economy is not a matter just for a year. However, it must not be delayed. The party organizations are called up to strive for a situation in which the workers in the agrarian-industrial complex build up their efforts day by day and work to make the enormous funds allocated for this task produce a yield already today, and even more tomorrow. Scientists conducting sociological studies in the countryside are also focusing on this. Their conclusions and recommendations, if they are made not hastily, not carelessly, but on the basis of the most serious study of the existing situation, can undoubtedly be of real use to the party organizations.

Implementation of the Food Program, work in transportation, communications and the enterprises of ferrous metallurgy, the status of capital construction, the production of consumer goods--it is to these and to a number of other sectors of the national economy that the party organizations are turning their attention today. The sociologists have much experience in studies of concrete economic questions but it is still not adequately used to improve the effectiveness of party leadership on these very important sectors of national economic development.

Scant attention is being given to sociological studies of the work of party organizations in strengthening labor and state discipline and in the struggle against formalism and bureaucracy, crime and abuses, against any kind of deviation from the norms of socialist morality.

The party is pursuing a consistent course toward the further development of socialist democracy in its broadest sense, striving for the increasingly active participation of the working masses in the management of state and public affairs. This is a key direction in the work of the party organizations, and this means that it is one of the urgent directions in sociological studies.

It was stated at the CPSU Central Committee November (1982) Plenum how important it is to be concerned with the needs of workers, their working and everyday conditions, the uninterrupted supply of all necessary industrial products and foodstuffs, and satisfying the growing spiritual requirements of Soviet people. And here, well organized and systematic studies can be useful for the party organizations.

Deep and comprehensive studies of party ideological and political-educational work are important. At the all-union seminar-conference of ideological workers

in 1981 in Moscow, CPSU Central Committee secretary M.V. Zimyanin noted that "there is far too little work here," and that the sociologists "are slow in turning to studies of questions concerning the communist education of the workers and propaganda." [43]

Under present conditions, in connection with the increasingly informed nature and awareness of Soviet people and the expansion of their political range of vision, the significance of sociological studies in ideological-educational work is also growing. The word of the propagandist or lecturer has the required effect only when they have a clear idea of how Soviet people live, and of their attitudes, aspirations and needs. And ideological workers derive this kind of knowledge from sociological studies also.

Attention was drawn to this aspect of the problem, in particular, at the scientific-practical conference "Exacerbation of the Ideological Struggle in the World Arena and Political Education of the Workers," which took place 12 through 14 October 1982 in Tallinn. In the report to the conference, CPSU Central Committee secretary K.V. Rusakov noted that "increasing significance is attaching to the systematic study of public opinion and the value judgements of the various categories of the population. Together with the party organizations, sociology and other branches of our scientific knowledge are called upon to resolve this important task." [44]

The sociological studies conducted in accordance with the instructions of the CPSU and its Central Committee will undoubtedly serve as an important source for the information needed not only by specialists in the field of the history and theory of party construction but also the party organizations, and as an effective means for communication between science and practical leadership in the society of developed socialism.

FOOTNOTES

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 12. "Materialy XXVI s'yezda KPSS" [Materials on the 26th CPSU Congress], Moscow 1981, p 52.
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32. This happens in cases where studies are conducted on a subscriber basis, without scientifically sound programs, methodology or study techniques. (See "Questions of Theory and Methods in Ideological Work" 2d edition, pp 21-22).
33. For further details see V.P. Oshko, F.D. Kozhurin and V.V. Shinkarenko, "Experience in the Use of Automated Data Systems in Party Work." VOPROSY ISTORII KPSS No 3, 1982.
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RESULTS OF TBILISI ALL-UNION IDEOLOGICAL CONFERENCE ANNOUNCED

Moscow POLITICHESKOYE SAMOOBRAZOVANIYE in Russian No 5, May 83 (signed to press 21 Apr 83) pp 46-48

Article: "Urgent Problems of Primary Party Organizations are Discussed" From the All-Union Scientific and Practical Conference in Tbilisi

Text As was already reported in the press, a scientific and practical conference was held in the city of Tbilisi, the capital of the Georgian SSR, in the first half of April of this year on the subject "Increasing the role of primary party organizations in the development of the social and production activity of workers, the strengthening of discipline and improvement in work style." Secretaries of the primary party organizations, CPSU Central Committee workers, workers from the Communist Party central committees of the union republics, kraykoms, obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms, members of the media, social scientists and Soviet Army political workers participated in the conference.

E. A. Shevardnadze, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee, gave the opening address of the conference, emphasizing its party-wide significance. He stated that its party-wide nature was determined by the fact that the problems considered from the standpoint of theory and practice, related to increasing the role of primary party organizations in the development of public and production activity of workers, strengthening discipline and improving work style, are important to the party as a whole. It is significant that this first All-Union conference following the November (1982) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee analyzes mainly those aspects of activity of the lower links of the party, the ones that comprise its foundation. By the very convocation of such a conference, the CPSU Central Committee is emphasizing the need for the whole party to turn abruptly to questions of the operation of primary party organizations, the labor collectives, where the decisions of the party Central Committee November Plenum and the decrees of Comrade Yu. V. Andropov must first be put into practice.

Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee I. V. Kapitonov gave a report at the conference entitled "Development of Worker Activity, Strengthening of Discipline, and Improvement in Work Style--Important Problems for the Primary Organizations."

It was noted in the report that the conference is taking place at a time when the Communist Party and the entire Soviet nation are steadfastly working to accomplish the tasks set forth in the 26th CPSU Congress, by the May and November CPSU Central Committee Plenums (1982). The principal positions on ways of performing these tasks were laid down in the speech of CPSU Central Committee General Secretary, Yu. V. Andropov in the November Plenum of the Central Committee, in his report "60 Years in the USSR," and in the article "The Teachings of Karl Marx and Some Questions of Socialist Structure in the USSR." The party attaches key significance to the rise in production and sociopolitical activity of workers, and to the creation of reasons for the development of their creative initiative and independent activity. Under these conditions, all-out improvement in the efficiency of primary organizations is particularly necessary. The comprehensive nature of factors resulting in an increase in the role of primary party organizations in the decisive areas of life in Soviet society were presented in the report.

It was noted that the primary party organization, being the political nucleus of the labor collective, is called upon to actively promote realization of its broad constitutional rights and responsibilities. It is responsible for all aspects of the workings and development of the labor collective, the creation and maintenance within it of a healthy moral and political climate and a setting where high standards are met, and the contribution of the collective to the common undertaking. The primary party organization is called upon to penetrate deeply into the economic activity of the collective, emphasizing increased efficiency and quality and to boost scrupulous observation of government interests, unconditionally guaranteeing the fulfillment of delivery plans and contractual requirements.

The struggle for stable economic relations begins in the work place. Its results depend directly on every worker conscientiously fulfilling his duties. In this case the influence of the party organization must be especially active. In order that cost accounting teams might gain a solid foothold, an attempt should be made to fortify them with communists and to better exercise the right of control of administration activities to maintain concreteness and efficiency in work. Socialist competition and the movement for a communist attitude toward labor are fully called upon to serve the interests of mobilization of the masses, an increase in labor productivity, rational use and strict economy of all types of resources and improvement in other areas.

The report discussed in detail the duties of party organizations in regard to strengthening discipline. It is important that everyone understands completely that the path toward strengthening discipline and order will be pursued relentlessly. In order to attain these goals, the education role of the collective itself should be increased in every way, so as to formulate in it a healthy public opinion and to wage an uncompromising battle not only against those who break the rules but also against those who pander to them. At the same time, party organizations must be concerned with the creation of appropriate conditions for labor, everyday life and leisure of the workers, and concern for their professional and cultural growth and

timely decision of housing, daily life and other social problems. The activity of all public organizations, the routine political and educational work in the collective must comply with the gradual development of the public activity of the masses and with the discovery of creative opportunities for each person.

The speaker devoted a good deal of attention to increasing the vanguard role of the communists, to strengthening party discipline and to affirmation of the Leninist style of work in all units. A significant place was allocated in the report to leadership by primary party organizations as viewed by higher party organs. It was stressed at the conference that party committees, especially gorkoms and raykoms, had to go to each primary organization to understand the circumstances in the labor collectives, to get to know the staff and help them structure their work better, to draw through conclusions and to share their advanced experience.

Several reports from conference participants were also heard at the plenary session--reports of secretaries of party committees and organizations, other responsible employees of the republics, krays, oblasts, cities and rayons. Their speeches were concerned with the experience accumulated in the primary party organizations of the country after the CPSU 26th Congress subsequent to the CPSU Central Committee Plenums; methods for successfully carrying out economic and political/educational tasks in the labor collectives were noted. It was convincingly proven that the richer and more varied the local experience, the more fruitful the activity of our party as a whole.

The discussion of questions was continued in sections and their leaders spoke of their work: Deputy Chief of the Propaganda Department of the CPSU Central Committee, P. K. Luchinskiy, Director of the Institute of Marxism/Leninism under the auspices of the CPSU Central Committee, A. G. Yegorov, Rector of the Academy of Social Sciences under the auspices of the CPSU Central Committee, V. A. Medvedev, and Editor-in-Chief of the CPSU Central Committee journal PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN', M. I. Khaldeyev. At the section meetings various aspects of primary party organizations activities in light of decisions of the 26th party congress, May and November (1982) Plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, and positions and conclusions contained in the speeches of Comrade Yu. V. Andropov were discussed.

The speakers focused their attention on questions of party organization work on the growth of party ranks, increase in activity and strengthening of communist ideological training. From a practical point of view, there was specific discussion of problems related to the role of the lower links of the CPSU in accomplishing the economic and political tasks and the current five-year plans. Such questions as increasing the role of active members, levels at which party meetings are conducted, strict observation of Leninist standards of party life, strengthening the bond between party organizations and the masses, assuring the unity of organizer, ideological/educational and economic activity were considered from every angle.

Participants in the conference--party workers and scientists analyzing the experience of communist education accumulated in the party--emphasized the great importance of formulating lofty personal qualities, of collective, patriotic and internationalist consciousness and behavior. The need was pointed out for improving the style of activity of the Soviets, labor union, Komsomol and other public organizations, for more extensive implementation of all educational possibilities in a society of developed socialism.

During the conference participants became acquainted with the interesting experience of a number of primary party organizations and labor collectives in Georgia. Meetings and exhaustive discussions were held at farms and enterprises, and at scientific and educational institutions, on how to most effectively carry out the plans of the socioeconomic development of the labor collectives, solving problems connected with carrying out the production program of the USSR.

On the last day of the conference, CPSU Central Committee Secretary I. V. Kapitonov gave the closing address. He noted that the fact that the conference was held is one more example of the CPSU Central Committee's emphasis on the activity of the primary party organizations as the foundation of our party, the political core of the labor collectives. The conference was full of profound subject matter, and was of a business-like and constructive character. As its work progressed, urgent questions of the organizational and ideological/educational work of primary party organizations in light of decisions of the 26th congress and the November (1982) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee were dealt with fundamentally and comprehensively.

The speeches disclosed varied forms and work methods for developing the social and production activity of workers, for strengthening discipline, and for increasing the influence of party organizations on the life and affairs of labor collectives. At the same time, participants in the conference openly and self-critically spoke about shortcomings in the operation of the primary party organizations and in their leadership from the standpoint of local party committees, and about problems which still remain to be solved. Several different views were expressed as to further improvement in the activity of lower links of the CPSU.

The conference generalized collective experience and offered valuable material for the theory and practice of the party structure. Participants in it emphasized that the successful accomplishment of a leading role for the party in society and the closeness of its ties to the masses depends in large part on the degree of activity of the primary organizations. It is therefore necessary for the primary party organization to tirelessly attempt to lead a full-blooded, busy life and to show initiative and creativity and high principles in all of its dealings.

The exchange of experiences gives new impetus to the intraparty life activity at the mass level itself of Lenin's party; it will promote strengthening of organizational and ideological activity as per decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and tasks of the 11th Five-Year Plan.

Three days of the work of the All-Union Scientific and Practical Conference has convincingly proven that it is providing an important step in the radical improvement of the work of all primary party organizations, said Candidate Member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and First Secretary of the Communist Party of Georgia Central Committee E. A. Shevardnadze in closing the conference. The opinions that were exchanged, all of the intraparty work experience generalized at the conference, and the advice given and recommendations made will all find specific expression in the practical affairs of CPSU primary organizations.

Editors of the journal POLITICHESKOYE SAMOBRAZOVANIYE plan to publish articles by several participants in the conference in subsequent issues.

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12262

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NATIONAL

DIRECTORS WHO COVER UP LOSSES URGED TO PAY FROM OWN POCKET

Moscow IZVESTIYA SOVETOV NARODNYKH DEPUTATOV SSSR in Russian 27 May 83 p 3

[Article under rubric "Face to Face With the Law"; by A. Yakimenko, candidate of legal sciences, Kiev: "Who Will Repay the Damages?"]

[Text] In the city of Shostik, Sumy Oblast, a trial was in progress. The persons giving the answer were those who were to blame for the fact that at the warehouse of the local *gorsmeshtorg* [city mixed-trade organization], 155,873 kilograms of potatoes and 44,490 kilograms of beets had been lost. The trial attracted attention primarily because the suit to regain the losses caused by spoilage of produce was brought against not only the persons who were materially responsible -- the warehouse manager and the storeman. Other persons figuring in the case were the *torg* director, his deputy, the chief of the trade department and the chief accountant, the director of the fruit and vegetable association, his deputy, and the senior accountant of that association.

This is what was established in the course of the court examination. Potatoes and beets had been brought in the autumn to the warehouse where G. Ponomarenko was the manager and N. Zdorovets was the storeman. If those products had been stored properly, there would have been enough of them to handle the trade until the new harvest. Alas, there did not prove to be enough. As N. Zdorovets explained to the court, the warehouse lacked the elementary conditions for storage: all the ventilators did not operate, the data concerning the temperature conditions were "made up out of whole cloth" and entered into the log only for the purpose of showing something to the inspectors. The workers there engaged in absenteeism, engaged in drunkenness, and failed to provide the proper transportation for hauling the potatoes and beets to the trade network.

That was also confirmed at the court by warehouse manager G. Ponomarenko and the deputy director of the fruit and vegetable base, A. Fashchuk. They stated that all the improper situations had been repeatedly reported to the director of the fruit and vegetable association, M. Yeres', but he had failed to take any steps in response to their request or pay any attention to it. Reports that the potatoes and beets were spoiling were also given to the managers of the *torg*, but they did not undertake any action.

The court's decision was to recover the entire value of the spoiled products from the materially responsible individuals and the administrators. An amount of 10,897 rubles was returned to the state. That would seem to have "dotted the i," as the expression goes. But I would like to return to certain details of that case. They will make it possible to look at it from a slightly different angle.

Let me begin with the prehistory of the "swindler trial." Many of us feel that a suit is instituted by citizens or organizations which have been damaged. And that is how it is most frequently. But in Shostik the events developed according to a different "scenario." When the spoilage of the potatoes and beets became a *fait accompli*, neither the *torg* nor the fruit and vegetable association instituted any suits. It was as though those 200,000 kilograms of rotten product had not even existed. The case was examined on the basis of a suit instituted by the city's procurator.

What stands behind that fact? Why is it that it is not too rare a situation when those who are supposed to be the first people to ask for strict accounting when there are losses remain silent? It is impossible to give a single answer to that question. But nevertheless. . . The administrators of the enterprise, institution, or organization must not only require their subordinates to take a thrift attitude to property, but must also create the necessary conditions to keep that property intact. And it is precisely the latter requirement that is not always executed. From this it follows that the responsibility must be borne not only by the persons who are immediately guilty of the spoilage or the loss of the property, but also those who failed to create the proper conditions for storage. But who has the courage to institute a suit himself? There are no such bold individuals, and, consequently, practically speaking there are no suits. True, the law stipulates that the superior organization has the right to institute a suit against the guilty individuals in such situations, but, in practice, this unfortunately happens infrequently.

And so, let us assume that a claim has nevertheless been brought to court. But. . . The judges sometimes have to become witnesses to a kind of "play": the representatives of the enterprises and organizations who have brought suit against their negligent workers frequently fail to show up in court to support their very own claims. Moreover, the instances are by no means infrequent when the organization that has brought the suit asks the court not to satisfy it, but to reject it.

Unfortunately, as of today there still remain a large number of obstacles to the compensation of the damages inflicted on the state. Even when the suit has been satisfied by the court, that does not always mean that the total amount of the damages will be returned to the enterprise or organization. As paradoxical as it sounds, the attempt to "put the brakes" on the case is sometimes made by the accounting workers of precisely that enterprise that has suffered the damages. The crux of the matter is that, in the recovery of the damages, someone is the debtor. The debtor never has been loved in the accounting office, since the debt that is charged to him, even though it is listed in the organization's financial assets, is actually a liability, as a result of which the workers in the accounting department are constantly criticized. And so they all attempt as quickly as possible to get rid of a

debtor. But how? By any means, up to and including the writing off of that amount as a bad debt, especially if those debtors are persons who have been convicted to a long term of deprivation of freedom [incarceration].

The managers of organizations frequently give silent "blessing" to their accountants for such actions. They have their own departmental reasons for doing this. The essence of those reasons is that, although the amounts of money being recovered do get deposited to the organization's bank account, the organization cannot use them until a definite period of time has elapsed: the funds are transferred to the state budget. And so the administrators with a "departmental range of thought" attempt as quickly as possible to get rid of "bad debtors" and the amounts which they cannot use, completely forgetting at such time the interests of the state.

What is the way out here? It would be correct, in my view, to have the amounts payable on the basis of court suits written off not only with the authorization of the superior organizations, but also with the sanction of the financial agencies. The dual control will make it possible to introduce rigid order into this matter.

And there is one more aspect of the problem. It is difficult to recall an instance when a superior organization has required an administrator whose negligence resulted in the failure to repay the damages responsible for repaying the damages out of his own pocket. If such steps were undertaken, there would be a lesson here not only for the specific "good-natured individual," but would also serve as an instructive example for others.

In this regard I would like to cite the following instance. At Store No. 12, of the Odessa Oblast Wholesale-Retail Association, of the Odezhda [Clothing] Firm, a shortage of 176,000 rubles worth of commodities was discovered. The procurator's office instituted a criminal suit. The investigation, and then the court, established that former manager L. Linetskaya had stolen 10,000 rubles. She was sentenced to a prolonged term of deprivation of freedom. But 166,000 rubles remained unrecovered by the state. Therefore the procurator's office in Odessa brought suit to recover from the same Linetskaya and five salesmen in the store the remaining sum. At the end of the court investigation, the procurator stated, "The shortage at Store No. 12 was created both at the fault of the defendants, and at the fault of the administrators of the Odezhda Firm. However, with a consideration of the material status of the defendants and the conditions that were created, as a result of which the intactness of the material assets was not assured, I request the court to recover 40 percent of the amount in the suit that has been brought."

Please note that the procurator mentioned yet another guilty party -- the administrators of the Odezhda Firm. That detail will not be without interest. In the course of the investigation, Linetskaya stated that in 1974 she had had a shortage in the amount of 40,000 rubles. During the subsequent years there had been eight stock-takings in the store, in which 11 persons had taken part. But not a single audits had found any shortage. Why? Well, because all of them, as becomes apparent from the documents, were carried out in violation of the procedure established by the USSR Ministry of Trade. Are we really to

believe that this did not create the favorable conditions for an "increase" in the shortage? If the shortage was formed at the fault of the administrators of the Odezhda Firm, then why did they remain aloof? Why did the auditors who took a negligent attitude to their duties remain aloof? Because it is obvious that such a considerable shortage could not have formed in half a year (which separated the audit that had discovered the underhanded practices, and the stock-takings that had failed to reveal any shady deals).

It would be natural for the procurator to ask the court to indict as additional defendants the guilty individuals from among the firm's administrators and those auditors who took such a negligent attitude to the job that had been assigned to them. But the procurator did not do that. Nor did the court, which could have done so on its own initiative. Moreover, the court went "farther" than the procurator and recovered an amount of shortage that was considerably less than the procurator had asked for. The natural question arises: who, then, will repay to the state such a large amount of damages?

The republic's Supreme Court reversed the decision of the people's court and returned the case for reconsideration. The causes of what had been committed and the persons guilty of such a large-scale shortage have to be established, and the damages must be completely repaid to the state.

At the November 1982 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, special attention was devoted to the reinforcement of labor and state discipline, to the need for the decisive struggle against poor business practices and waste. An important role is played here by the legal means. They must be applied strictly according to the purpose for which they were intended. The responsibility must be borne by all those persons who are guilty of committing the violations. That is in the interests of the state and in the interests of you and me.

5075

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NATIONAL

SOVIET LAW AGAINST NEPOTISM EXPLAINED

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 24 Apr 83 p 3

[Article in answer to question of reader S. Korovina, city of Kuybyshev:
"In what Case Are Relatives Forbidden to Work in the Same Organization?"]

[Text] The appropriate normative acts forbid close blood relatives or relatives by marriage (parents, spouses, brothers, sisters, sons, daughters and also the parents, children, brothers and sisters of spouses) from working at the same institution, the same enterprise or organization if their work entails direct subordination or control of one another.

In the RSFSR, problems concerning the limitation of relatives working together are regulated by St. 20 KZoT [Codex of Labor Laws] of the RSFSR. In accordance with this article by decree of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, from August 21, 1972 a list of employees eligible for exclusion from the rule was approved. These are scientific employees, teachers, lecturers, instructors and librarians in all scientific, educational and instructional institutions, artists and musicians from theaters and studios, agriculturalists, foresters, land reclamation specialists, physicians at treatment institutions and sanatoriums of the public health system, working outside the boundaries of oblast centers and cities, directly subordinate to the oblast, and also employees of the railroad transport line enterprises, except for the main accountants and cashiers of these establishments, employees of operations enterprises and communications organizations, etc.

12262

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NATIONAL

APPEAL FOR RECOGNITION OF SCULPTORS', ARCHITECTS' TRADE

Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 14 May 83 p 3

/Article by T. Shul'gina, architect and honored cultural worker of RSFSR:
"Who Designed the Memorial?"

/Text/ Over a period of many years I have observed with considerable distress that when a monument or memorial is unveiled the newspapers and magazines quite properly publicize the event on their pages but they do not always cite the name of the author -- the sculptor or architect. In defense of my own work, I have on more than one occasion drawn the attention of editorial boards to this fact, the Administration for the Protection of Copyrights of the USSR Union of Artists has filed protests in connection with such incidents and the authors of the memorials themselves have issued complaints. Nevertheless, with each passing year the number of such omissions tends to increase.

A question arises: would a poem consisting of 10 lines be printed by these same newspapers or magazines, or any story, essay or letter, without the name of the poet, writer of prose or essayist being mentioned? For example, one finds the name of the photographer under a picture of a memorial or monument. And yet it is considered to be entirely acceptable not to mention the name of the artists involved in the development of a memorial, monument, new building, architectural ensemble, picture or placard.

I do not wish to cite the names of the newspapers or magazines, but here are some examples. In the autumn of last year, a memorial dedicated to the "Small Mainland" was unveiled -- an eminent work by our master monument builders. At the same time, the unveiling of this monument was given extensive publicity, pictures were printed and the names of the work superintendents and brigade leaders responsible for erecting the memorial were provided. However, no mention was made of the authors of this tremendously complicated work, such well known and honored experts as sculptor V. Tsigal' and architects Ya. Belopol'skiy, V. Khavin, R. Kananin. Allow me to cite another example: a memorial dedicated to civil war heroes in Vladivostok is publicized, with the name of the photographer being furnished. No mention is made of the author of the work however. Still another example: a memorial dedicated to the heroes of Krasnodon -- again, no mention is made of the author. The new "Liberators of the Ukraine" monument in Voroshilovgrad Oblast and an obelisk at Baykonur honoring the launching of the first satellite of the earth: on

both occasions, silence with regard to the authors of the works. A memorial to Polzunov in the city of Barnaul and a bronze bust of Hero of Socialist Labor Academician Ye. Paton in Kiev. A new hotel in Vyborg and a new theatre building in Ryazan. Again and again -- anonymous works. I recall the enthusiastic press releases concerning a children's musical theatre in Moscow -- its interior areas, sculptures and adjoining public garden: all of this was created on the basis of extensive creative labor by a large group of architects, artists and sculptors. But who were they?

Is it necessary to provide any further examples?

The creation of a worthy memorial, monument or any other work of art requires creative work that is even difficult to imagine. And failure to recognize this labor not only offends the honor of the architects and sculptors who undertook to carry out such honorable work, but in addition it reflects very poorly upon all of us who view the work of a sculptor or architect as a new achievement of our culture and as national property.

This is why, without mentioning the need for observing the elementary norms for copyrights established by Soviet legislation, the press must follow the rule of treating artists and art in a fair manner.

7026

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NATIONAL

ALCOHOL A FACTOR IN HALF OF ALL DIVORCES, ESTONIAN STUDY FINDS

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 May 83 p 14

[Article by Vladimir Voyna: "Is the Family the Formula for Happiness?"]

[Text] A little over 12 years ago, I had the occasion to write in the pages of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA about the creation of a family center in Tartu, "Family Services", where a psychologist, lawyer and physician give qualified advice to those in need, help resolve family conflicts, and may even help find a bride or groom (LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, No 23, 1970).

I am in Tartu once again because I was invited to participate in a scientific and practical conference on "The Stability and Quality of Marriage".

You can make all the ironic comments you like about putting faith in the omnipotence of exact science, but it is difficult today to find a sphere of human activity where mathematical methods could not be applied--from laying out fabric for a suit with the least waste of material to managing the most complex economic organizations. But mathematics and matrimony?

At the end of the 1960s, the group formed in Tartu for the study of family problems, in which all different spheres of knowledge were represented--history and philosophy, sociology and law, psychology, gynecology, pedagogy--was headed by Ene Tiyt, assistant professor of mathematics at Tartu University. During the first years, the work was done by volunteers, mainly students and graduate students, and the university's computer center was made available for the group to use (today it is headed by Ene Tiyt, who has remained a mathematician first and foremost, even though she has a fine reputation in the scientific world as a family sociologist). There were, of course, many skeptics.

There are probably still quite a few people who are sure that one of the greatest sacraments--the origin of emotion, the decision to join the fates of two people--cannot be subjected to mathematical analysis, all this cannot be entrusted to a newspaper announcement or the most complete electronic computer. But Ene Tiyt saw in the utilization of an electronic computer the final--applied--goal of her research. She knew that there are lonely and therefore unhappy people around lives that are too disordered. And she believed in the power of science.

A computer can do a great deal if it has been given a well-thought out program of investigation. In order to develop such a program, it is necessary to know precisely what the goal is, to have a model of a happy family. This means a family that not only does not fall apart, but that brings joy to both partners. The Tartu sociologists introduced a new term, the "quality marriage". This does not mean one that is simply stable (after all, unhappy families can exist for a long time). The basic parameters of the "quality marriage" were presented in comprehensive form at the conference by the Tartu sociologist, D. Ya. Kustar, and the title of the conference itself contained the necessary clarification: "The Stability and Quality of Marriage". But to understand the foundations of a harmonious marriage and the laws that govern family life, as well as what can undermine its foundations, years and years were required.

At the beginning, wide surveys were taken to investigate the overall condition of marriage, then young people were questioned on the topic, "Your Ideal", brides and grooms at wedding registration bureaus filled out very detailed questionnaires (hundreds of them did this, with the men and women answering separately) and years later it was possible to find the participants in this survey and discover how their ideas about each other and family relations had changed; finally, hundreds of people who had filed for divorce told frankly about themselves and their families that had not been successful. The results of these surveys are exceptionally important in the understanding of the contemporary family. I will touch upon just one aspect of this research, which seems to me to be the most important, since the study of the so-called risk factors, developed by Ene Tiyt and her colleagues, formed the basis for the computer program and is proving successful in strengthening families.

As the classic says, all unhappy families are unhappy in their own way, but there are some predominant reasons for the break-up of families, which can be classified, studied and grouped in a conventional way. The more things that people fail to have in common originally, the greater the risk that the family will fail.

Factors which increase the probability that a marriage will not last were broken up into three groups by Ene Tiyt. Actually, it was the other way around. Sociologists determined that the durability of a marriage depends on: first, the personalities of those entering the marriage (up-bringing, background, character, and so on); second, the degree of their compatibility (what prompted the bride and groom to form a family, how long they have been acquainted, how their relationship has developed at this stage); third, how the relationship between the newlyweds develops in the marriage itself. Also involved here are the family's economic foundations, everyday living conditions, the extent to which the original and subsequent mutual assessment of the spouses coincides, the conflicts, possible sexual disharmony, distribution of roles in the family, and of course, drunkenness. Everything here is related. The personality of the spouses (the first group of factors) has an effect on their compatibility in marriage, which in turn determines to a considerable degree the formation of family relationships and roles. But for convenience in the scientific research, the three groups were studied separately.

The method of comparison, in simple terms, involved comparing the number of negative and positive responses for each of the factors selected (in percent) among the group of those entering marriage and among those seeking a divorce. For example, 67 percent of those entering marriage were raised up until age 16 in a family with both a mother and father, and among those seeking a divorce, almost one-half were raised in a family without both parents and did not have an example of their parents' harmonious relations. Is this a serious risk factor?

The conclusion is natural: the parents' experience affects the strength of the sons' and daughters' marriage (when the bride and groom are from families with both parents or when one parent is absent), and the atmosphere of the parents' home also has an effect.

It is well known that city-dwellers divorce more often than people living in rural areas. But it also turns out that moving from a rural area to a city and the accompanying weakening of social control is also a risk factor, increasing the probability of divorce. This is also true of age discrepancies between spouses. The optimal age difference, judging from the largest number of lasting marriages, is 2-3 years (for example, the bride is 21 and the groom is 23; for those with a higher education, the marriage age rises accordingly, but the difference is essentially the same). The greater the deviation from this optimum, the greater the risk of divorce. Entering marriage at too early an age or too late an age has a negative effect on the strength of the family. Generally speaking, the greater the coincidences, correspondences, similarities (or in sociologists' terminology, homogeneity) in a marriage, the fewer risk factors there are, and conversely, the more discrepancies in age, background, education, and so on, (or heterogeneity), the stronger the effect of antagonizing forces.

This empirically established principle determined the approach taken to predict the extent to which a family will be stable and harmonious.

Everyone can make his own predictions when entering into a marriage: each discrepancy means that sooner or later the future family will start to experience some overloads, its strength may turn out to be unstable. This is useful knowledge for young spouses! Of course, attempts can be made to overcome these discrepancies (risk factors) and weaken their effect, but the efforts of both parties are required--patience, maturity, and a clear understanding of the reasons for the possible conflicts.

Included in the second group of risk factors is specifically the length of acquaintance before the marriage. Here also the extremes are equally harmful: acquaintance of less than half a year carries the same risk as does a very long one (over three years), because the emotional intensity in the marriage declines. Statistics show that the optimal time period is a year and a half. And those who saw their future spouse once a week or less divorce more often than those who had closer and more frequent contact. They did not simply get to know each other, but they more importantly managed to understand what characteristics of their future spouse were particularly irritating to them, but still considered them not excessive, learned to forgive these little flaws

and "prepared" themselves for them. It is worse when these discoveries are made later, after the wedding. The warmth and sincerity of relations before the marriage, the desire to help one another--all this increases the family's stability, as will the love, friendship and concern that are present at the outset, and incidentally, also the approval of the bride's and groom's parents.

A very serious risk factor is unfavorable family living conditions: 62 percent of those seeking a divorce did not have their own apartment. True, the living conditions of young families gradually improve (at the time of divorce, approximately 60 percent are living in separate apartments), but this factor of disorder has already managed to play a destructive role.

In no fewer than half of the applications for divorce filed by women, the primary or contributing motive is alcohol abuse; 20 percent of the men involved in divorce indicated themselves that they drink often and 45 percent that they drink moderately; their wives indicated that 64 percent of the husbands drink hard liquor often, and 20 percent in moderation. If one takes the "average groom" as a baseline, he drinks less at the time he gets married than the "average man going through divorce". This habit is too often connected to the tradition in the parents' home. It is characteristic that brides do not place the quality of being a "non-drinker" very high on their list of desired qualities in a spouse (13th place!), but among reasons for divorce alcohol abuse is in first place.

Another very serious risk factor is unfair distribution of domestic jobs: they take up half the time among men that they do among women, according to estimates of both spouses. Certainly husbands and wives who grow accustomed to spending their free time separately develop different interests and hobbies.

Sexual disharmony among spouses also breaks up a marriage. Among those getting divorced, 43 percent of the men and 51 percent of the women noted this factor. Many of those surveyed accused their spouses of being unfaithful: and many noted at the same time that they were getting divorced because of unjustified jealousy on the part of the husband or wife. This is the kind of "anatomy of divorce" in brief that was used to develop the opposite model, the happy family.

"The Mathematical Model of Marital Stability"--this was the title of Ene Tiyt's talk. Frankly, this seemed sensational. Can one really measure the degree of harmony and happiness in a family in numbers and conventional terms? Had they succeeded in creating the long-awaited "formula for happiness"? No, this is more of a formula for strength and stability of a marriage.

It is difficult to imagine, of course, that now all of us (or even many of us) will start to look for our "other halves" with the help of a formula developed by sociologists. Today, just like in all other times, marriages will be "made in heaven". It is gratifying, however, that those who work in family counseling are receiving such serious scientific support. And there is more. Services that help single people create families will stop using the primitive questionnaires. They will be able to use as a foundation for their work the "formula for happiness" proposed by the sociologists from Tartu.

I will not bother the reader with higher mathematics: to put it mildly, I am not strong in that area myself, like the overwhelming majority of those attending the lecture, so I needed to have a separate two-hour conversation with Ene Tiyt in order to understand the essence of the work. The author of the formula told me that none of the foreign family services, as far as she knows, used such a complete system, taking into account so many indicators and natural laws.

There are 100 of these indicators for oneself and one's spouse; they are broken down into 20 groups. There should be five indicators in each group, listed in order of preference and each should be assigned a grade on a five-point scale, from 5 to 1. Temperament and love for children, appearance and habits, everything is taken into account here. The requirements for certain features (height, age) are not to be given in single, categorical terms, but with a range--"from" and "to". The wider the interval, the more variations there are, the higher the probability of meeting the requirements.

In the final analysis, the task is to bring the requirements of both parties into as close a correspondence as possible. After sorting through the mass of data, the computer selects the cards that are as close as possible to the desired ideal. This formula can also be used for a computer analysis of the degree of correspondence between any pair of spouses (for example, a couple coming in for counseling), in order to assess to what degree the couple has slipped from the threshold of tolerance, beyond which the implacable forces of mutual antagonism operate. Using the same method, one can try to predict the degree of risk that awaits a young family.

The computer can also make corrections for us. If we gave little information about our prospective spouse, considering certain things to be of little importance, the computer will conduct a search on the basis of the principle of similarity, thus making an attempt to have the education, for example, correspond as closely as possible, and to make the age difference not too great, which will decrease the effect of these risk factors. If someone indicates that he drinks "in moderation", the computer will determine through a number of indirect indicators how much this corresponds to reality, and when necessary, it will take into account this negative factor. Foreign computers do not do this type of correlation. If the computer does not find the optimal level of correspondence, the groom or bride is advised to lower the requirements.

This method of "sorting through grooms and brides" also promises possibilities for marriage therapy. If people truly want to preserve their family, it can be "treated", and to do this, each person must change himself (and not just "the other side"--that's a separate story), his behavior, he must learn to be tolerant and adapt. The more honesty there is, the greater the sense of duty, intelligence, psychological development in us, the greater the hopes for success. And the more our family corresponds to the formula for happiness developed by the scientists, and the closer this formula is to our real, difficult family happiness.

9967

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REGIONAL

PRODUCTIVE USE OF FREE TIME ENCOURAGED IN ESTONIA

Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 8 May 83 p 1.

[Article: "The Value of Free Time"]

[Text] Let us begin with an example. The New Year came without snow and frost. But all the same it was greeted as it should be with trees decorated with lights of various colors, with presentations by costumed performers, and with the generous showering of children with gifts by white-bearded Grandfather Frosts. And in the tiny town of Tyuri, everyone young and old went out into the street half an hour before midnight. Entire families walked to the square where the main [New Year's] tree stood. No sooner did the Kremlin chimes sound than a car drove into the square bearing the young New Year (an employee of the local Culture Center) who sincerely congratulated the citizens, wished them good health and glorious labor victories. His speech was followed by a fireworks salute to the year 1983.

The people of Tyuri know how to spend their leisure time. In the springtime, when the gardens around the houses are in bloom, when the fields are ablaze with brilliant colors, they hold a flower bazaar abounding in roses, carnations and gerberae. When the garden chores are completed in the fall, domestic science days are held in Tyuri. Then, city dwellers view fruit and flower exhibits, become acquainted with the products of "Baltika," "Ars," and the "Viru" consumer services combine. On those days it is possible to obtain a finished rug in exchange for wool and to buy seeds or bulbs of favorite varieties of flowers. While there are many initiators of these measures, the principal magnet is of course the Culture Center, which is the largest in Padeiskiy Rayon.

The people have a saying: "As you rest, so do you work." There is a lofty meaning in this simple formula. After all, we are familiar with Marx's idea that the true measure of social wealth is leisure time that provides broad latitude for the comprehensive development of man, for increasing his capacity for work and for satisfying his physical and mental needs. If we consider that the annual budget of free time in our country now equals the annual budget of working time -- and this is one of the important attainments of developed socialism! -- the problem of using leisure time becomes all the more important. It is a problem that affects each of us. It is studied by scholars. It is continuously in the field of vision of the local Soviets and social organizations.

The need to improve conditions for the meaningful use of free time is specified in the Constitution of the USSR: Article 41 states that the nation's citizens are provided with favorable opportunities for the rational use of free time. The Soviet people are served by more than 138,000 club-type institutions, 329,000 libraries, approximately 600 professional theaters, several thousand amateur theaters, 152,000 film projection units, and over 75,000 gymnasiums. The state's concerns are justified. After all, free time becomes true wealth only when it serves the harmonious development of man and thereby also results in the still greater enhancement of society's material and spiritual potential.

However, cultural leisure pursuits do not develop by themselves. The individual's interests should be shaped. A task of no little importance to party, trade union and Komsomol organizations, Soviets of People's Deputies, and ideological institutions is to shape the individual's interests purposefully, to see to it that each person know how to use his free time intelligently in a way that benefits him and society.

At the "Keyla" Factory, the recreation and reading room, which is located right on the factory grounds, has become the center of attraction. Evenings featuring pensioners and veterans of the collective are held there once or twice a year. In the room they are awaited by flowers and coffee. The factory manager briefs them on the state of affairs, tells them about the collective's current activities, how it is overcoming the obstacles that face it, and about what lies ahead. And there is music -- soft, melodious, just the way the older generation likes it. And young people assemble there on Saturdays to listen to the band, to take part in contests and quizzes, and to hear poetry and songs performed.

Every year the factory organizes lecture series. The two most popular series this year are "Major Museums of the World" and "Favorite Film Actors." We should also add that swimmers regularly use the factory pool and that there are tours to the islands of Saaremaa and Khiumaa, to Moscow, to Yaroslavl, and around the Golden Ring...

There are many similar examples to be found throughout the republic. Life does not stand still. Everywhere new traditions reflecting the present level of our interests and potential are born and affirmed. There is the "AVS" [ABC?] club for secondary school graduates in Raplasksiy Rayon. This club's evenings, which gather graduates of the rayon's seven secondary schools, are remembered by the young men and women for many years to come because they combine the brilliant imagination and ingenuity of the organizers with the passion of youth. There are also heartwarming amateur plays, dazzling photogazettes, interesting lectures, sport competitions, and numerous contests.

But nonetheless, tens and hundreds of people who do not know the way to the library, to the stadium, to the symphony...are tormented by the question of how to spend their free time and where to go in the evening.

The ESSR State Philharmonic organizes 2300 concerts a year. But is there always a full house for each of these concerts? Before the season begins every year, season tickets are sold to Sunday symphony concerts accompanied by

lectures by musicologist Zh. Dozortseva on the concert series "From the Golden Fund of Instrumental Music." Alas in both instances the Philharmonic Hall is half empty. And yet in Tallinn there are so many pupils and students whose musical taste has not been developed, has not been determined or is onesidedly oriented toward popular music.

We still have among us many people who "kill" their free time, who live only for the moment and who simply do not know how to organize their free time. Misspent time does not only mean lost opportunity with regard to education, culture and the broadening of one's outlook. Idleness and the mere passing of time contribute to a person's spiritual bankruptcy and are the source of many vices. This situation must be combated. After all, it is by no means a matter of indifference to our society how the working people spend their free time and on what.

Meaningful leisure pursuits and active recreation are an important way of increasing the intellectual, creative potential of the individual and hence of all society. This is an issue of national importance and it requires our unflagging attention.

5013

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REGIONAL

ESTONIAN PARTY WORK, RECRUITMENT POLICIES CRITICIZED

Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 10 Mar 83 p 1

[Text] "We are a small group walking a steep, precipitous trail. We are firmly holding one another by the hand. We are surrounded from all sides by enemies and we are almost always under their fire."

These words written by Lenin at the dawn of the century figuratively and precisely express how our party began. Time goes by, one generation replaces another and the party takes in new members. Life advances concrete tasks that naturally differ from those that had to be resolved earlier. However, the principles that guide the party in admitting new members are immutable: as a rule, only the best of the best become party members. The 26th Party Congress noted that the development of our society and the change in its sociopolitical and cultural makeup were concurrent with the growth, the strengthening and the increased maturity of the communist party.

The work associated with replenishing the party's ranks, with educating young communists is one of the most important areas in the activity of each party organization. It requires special attention, an individual approach, and the ability to determine who is worthy of this high vocation and to assist each of them in becoming a true party fighter.

This is precisely the approach taken to work with the non-party aktiv and to candidate party members in the "TEZ im. M. I. Kalinin" Production Association, in the "Baltiyskaya manufaktura" Combine and in the "Standard" Science-Production Furniture Association. At the same time, as noted at the 7th Plenum of the Tallinn Gorkom of the Estonian CP, other enterprises in the same Kalininskiy Rayon pay little attention to the recruitment of party members. Thus there were admissions to party membership in only 7 out of 41 small party organizations. Moreover, there has been no growth of the party organization in industry, communications and other important branches.

Every aspect of this important effort is significant. Take, for example, the matter of recommending someone for membership in the party. In order to vouch for a person, it is necessary to know him well. The party organizations today are doing much to raise the responsibility of those who make these

recommendations. The following instance shows that much still remains to be done in this area. S. Logunov, assistant yardmaster in the Tallinn Railroad Station, became a member of the party. Some time later, he turned up on trial for theft. Naturally he was expelled from the party. But not until the examination of his personal dossier was it found that he had been previously guilty of absenteeism and tardiness. Nonetheless the recommendations contained only glowing descriptions of him.

The candidate probation period is called the school in party spirit. During this year, the party organization has an opportunity to get to know each candidate well and to help him prepare for party membership. Wherever there is genuine interest and demandingness, miscalculations are reduced to the minimum. The candidate receives a permanent or one-time assignment and studies in the party training program. There are individual talks with him and reports are submitted on his progress during his probation period.

But it sometimes turns out otherwise. Once a person is accepted as a candidate member, all work with him essentially ceases. When the time comes to decide whether it is to be admitted to party membership, it found that the person has not shown himself in any way. He is nonetheless admitted even though there is no firm assurance that he will justify the faith placed in him. And this is why there is sometimes a bitter harvest to reap.

A young communist is indoctrinated by the entire atmosphere in the party organization. If people in the party organization are truly demanding and well-wishing toward one another, if the atmosphere in meetings and everyday life is one of high principle, self-criticism, and intolerance of shortcomings the person will more readily acquire the qualities of a true party member. And on the other hand, any disparity between words and deeds has a negative impact on his indoctrination.

The decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On the Work of the Party Organizations of Kirghizia in Admitting Persons to Party Membership and in Indoctrinating Candidate Members of the CPSU" recommended that admissions to party membership be held in open party meetings, in other words, that this question be resolved in public for the entire collective to see. The way in which these meetings are prepared and conducted is very important. The point is to allow not only communists to express their opinion about the candidate but also to hear from non-party comrades who are well acquainted with the candidate's activities and everyday life.

There must be maximum objectivity, demandingness and party principle! All this is also obligatory for raykoms and gorkoms that ultimately resolve the issue of party membership, and for party commissions. It is their duty to ensure the strict observance of the party's Rules and Regulations, to exclude the potential infiltration of its ranks by uncommitted people, and to eliminate instances of unscrupulousness in this area.

At the same time, signals received by SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA show that party committees everywhere are not devoting the proper attention to this area of the work which is always important. There are instances when a person's

admission to the party is pushed through. At the same time that the growth of the party's ranks is regulated, no attention is paid to changes taking place in the social structure of the population, to the specific features of labor collectives, and to the need to strengthen the party's influence in various areas of the national economy and culture. All these things are of very great importance.

The concept of the 'young communist' is not only and not necessarily associated with age. More attention must be devoted to people of mature age and good practical experience. They also require a certain amount of party indoctrination and the necessary preparation.

Schools for young communists can do much in this regard. Instructive experience in the operation of these schools has been amassed in Narva as well as in other cities and rayons. Nonetheless there are many such schools whose work is superficial, whose curricula are compiled in isolation from urgent practical problems and whose instruction is conducted at a low level. There must be a more thoughtful approach by the party committees and the more resolute elimination of such shortcomings.

A person is admitted to the party... This is an exciting, responsible stage in his life. It is important to everyone involved because concern for improving the qualitative composition of the party's ranks is an indispensable condition to the further ideological, political and organizational strengthening of the party organizations; because this is guarantee of their combat readiness and authority, and of the strengthening of their leading role in mobilizing the working people to carry out the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the November (1982) Plenum of the party's Central Committee.

5013

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REGIONAL

PROBLEMS IN EVALUATING LITHUANIAN NATIONAL HERITAGE

Vilnius KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Mar 83 (signed to press 23 Mar 83)
pp 30-37

[Article by Professor M. Burokyavichyus, doctor of historical sciences: "The Cultural Heritage and Its Evaluation"]

[Text] With the building of socialism in Soviet Lithuania, communist ideology took root and became dominant and and socialist consciousness formed. There is no class basis for nationalistic ideology in the republic today. The national question in the form the exploiter order left it to us has been resolved finally for all time to come. National dissension, together with social antagonisms, is now a thing of the past.

However, progress in resolving the national question does not in any way mean that there are no problems whatsoever in this area. It must not be forgotten that there is also another side to the cultural legacy, traditions and way of life; to worthwhile things that all Soviet peoples should adopt; to that which is worthy to augment the people's cultural treasures. The party teaches us that we must cherish everything progressive and at the same time reject everything that is obsolete or contradictory to the norms of Soviet society, socialist morality and communist ideals.

"Life shows that the economic and cultural progress of all nations and nationalities is invariably accompanied by their heightened national consciousness," states Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. "This is a natural, objective process. However it is important that natural pride in success not become national conceit, not promote aloofness or contempt for other nations and nationalities. And such negative negative phenomena are still encountered. It would be wrong to say that all this is a vestige of the past. Here, comrades, there are no trivialities. Everything in this area is important -- attitudes toward language and toward monuments to the past, the interpretation of historical events, the way we transform villages and cities, the way we influence people's working and living conditions."¹

The class struggle of the postwar years in Lithuania is a thing of the past to the Soviet youth of today. However, the echoes of this struggle, especially in the sphere of ideology, still influence youth's thinking even today. This is due to many factors, the most important of which is the ideological struggle between socialism and capitalism.

Bourgeois propaganda strives to galvanize national sentiments among Soviet people, especially among representatives of the younger generation. It creates myths regarding the special merits of one or another nation in order to arouse feelings of national exclusiveness and attempts to play down social contradictions in the history of the nation. Bourgeois nationalists who have fled Lithuania idealize and extol Lithuania's feudal and bourgeois past and distort the historical truth.

The struggle of the Lithuanian Communist Party for the triumph of the principles of Marxist-Leninist methodology, for its creative application, the struggle against the bourgeois theory of the "common flow" is not only associated with the past. We must not underestimate its importance today. Even though many aspects of this struggle have lost their urgency, new problems requiring serious attention arise in their place.

The principles of proletarian internationalism and Lenin's nationalities policy are occasionally incorrectly explained and manifestations of nationalism are cloaked in religion. "It is our duty to rebuff all manifestations of bourgeois nationalism and antisovietism."²

Some of our republic's historians, philosophers and literary scholars publish propositions and conclusions that are unsubstantiated from a scientific point of view and give our youth an incorrect orientation.

The myth that Lithuanian culture is superior to the cultures of neighboring nations is one of the basic, most intrusive themes espoused by Lithuanian bourgeois emigres. They try to fan the national feelings of citizens to the point of nationalism, to set Lithuanian art off against the culture of the Russian people and other Soviet peoples while simultaneously proclaiming modernism and encouraging the de-ideologization of those active in the arts. However the slanderers say nothing about the cosmopolitanism and anti-popular aspects of modernism. Modernism, which is based on individualism and the philosophy of idealism, serves reaction faithfully. It attacks socialist realism and at the same time tries to cast slurs on Lithuania's spiritual life. The ideologues of modernism accuse our art of being standardized, monotonous and subordinate to the dictates of the party, sow discord and misanthropy, support the arms race and try to make the creators of art dependent on monopolies.

This obligates our Soviet researchers of culture and science to be vigilant and to stand firmly on ideological positions. As noted at the 26th CPSU Congress, "The lack of principle and ideals, lack of philosophical scruple, and the departure from clearcut evaluation of individual historical events and figures in glass terms can be detrimental to the creative effort of even gifted people."³

In the present stage of the struggle between communist and bourgeois ideologies, the defenders of capitalism try to set the cultural heritage of socialist peoples inherited from antagonistic society off against the Soviet culture of nations of the USSR, especially Soviet Russian culture, its socialist content and international character. When bourgeois ideologues

speak of culture, they place primary emphasis on nationalism, on religious aspects that have penetrated spiritual culture and reject the class content of culture. They falsify history and culture, try to refute the scientific approach to culture, and deny the existence of two cultures (progressive and reactionary) in bourgeois society. Bourgeois propaganda spreads cock-and-bull stories about our republic in its effort to prove that nothing of value has been created in Soviet Lithuania's culture in the postwar years, questions the cultural policy of the CPSU and its militant detachment -- the Lithuanian Communist Party -- and propagandizes the bourgeois ideas of the "unity of nation" in antagonistic society. A most important element of the activity of the monopolies' ideologues is the fostering of an unprincipled, ideal-less atmosphere which is used as a cover for instilling the bourgeois world-view.

In the postwar years, the bourgeois theory of the "common flow" was criticized in documents of the Lithuanian Communist Party. This was the period of socialist construction in Soviet Lithuania. The Lithuanian urban and rural bourgeoisie and the bourgeois intellectuals that expressed its class interests resisted the historic process of social progress. They propagandized the classless development of the bourgeois nation and accused the Lithuanian Communist Party of fomenting class struggle. In so doing, Lithuanian bourgeois nationalists tried to justify the political banditry of the postwar years.

"The carriers of bourgeois ideology tried to provide ideological validation for bloody banditry and to arouse antisoviet sentiments."

Proclaiming the theory of the "common flow," they idealized the past -- the feudal and bourgeois order, various political figures of those times, and presented a one-sided picture of the social and cultural figures of the time and of their cultural heritage. The party promptly noted that this "theory" was based on the rejection of the class struggle and the espousal of "national unity" under the conditions of an exploitative order. The nationalists and their yes-men attempted to apply this bourgeois theory to the evaluation of the history and cultural and literary heritage of Lithuania. The particular harm caused by this "theory" was that it "nurtured nationalistic sentiments and hindered the indoctrination of the Lithuanian working people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism."⁵ Naturally there were also people who were led astray. They made mistakes because they were unable to analyze the past and regularities of historical development from a Marxist-Leninist standpoint. In these cases, the Lithuanian Communist Party criticized erroneous positions and tried to help those who erred to understand their mistakes and the harm that was caused to people's minds by the untrue presentation of questions pertaining to the past.

The critical evaluation of the bourgeois theory of the "common flow" did not lose its timeliness even under socialist conditions. The 11th Congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party held in 1959 noted that bourgeois nationalists then more than ever before were trying to mask their hostile activity and their intention to restore capitalism by means of "national dress" and patriotism. Our enemies today are operating in this area with a significantly greater degree of flexibility.

The 16th Congress of the Lithuanian CP pointed out that the idealization of figures in the bourgeois national movement, the attempt to portray them as noble patriots who did not defend the interests of some one class but who had a boundless love for all the people, for all strata and the failure to mention their class objectives were confusing our younger generation. The task is to see to it that communists and scholars henceforth evaluate the historical past and cultural heritage from Marxist positions on the basis of Marxist-Leninist methodology. Soviet Lithuanian scholars created works in which complex problems regarding history, cultural heritage and the development of science in Lithuania were explored from Marxist positions.

Attempts to evaluate historical events and the cultural heritage of the past from the ideological positions of the "common stream" were criticized and condemned at the 5th, 6th, 7th, 10th, 12th, 13th and subsequent Congresses of the Lithuanian Communist Party. At the 16th Congress of the Lithuanian CP, it was noted that today there are those who would proclaim this criticism obsolete. Naturally, life and science do not stand still. It is indeed true that certain things can and should be updated and corrected in the evaluation of concrete phenomena and specific individuals from modern positions. However the methodological principles of criticism were correct and substantiated by the theory of Marxism-Leninism. Hence there is no basis whatsoever for rehabilitating the "common flow" theory. To the contrary, the building of communism and the improvement of communist education require a substantial increase in the intensity of the fight against these and similar deviations from Marxism-Leninism that occasionally still arise.

On its historic path, the Lithuanian Communist Party has been guided by the Marxist-Leninist teaching and has more than once offered a scientific evaluation of historical events and of the cultural heritage. Especially significant in this regard is the publication of the materials of congresses of the republic party organization, plenums of its Central Committee, and works by Lithuanian CP leaders V. Kapsukas, Z. Angaretis and A. Snechkus.

The basic pronouncements of Antanas Snechkus have been of fundamental importance. As Comrade P. Grishkyavichus, first secretary of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee, wrote of this ardent revolutionary, "he played an extraordinarily important part in correctly evaluating the heritage of the past and in determining the principles underlying this evaluation. Antanas Snechkus invariably demonstrated a class-oriented, Marxist approach to this question. He frequently had to fight against those who had slipped down from class positions, who idealized oppressors, their policy and culture and against those who nihilistically forgot the principles of Marxist methodology and rejected the attainments of folk culture. Guided by the policy of the CPSU Central Committee, he resolutely opposed those who ignored national specifics and also opposed those who exaggerated them."⁶

When our republic embarked on the path of socialist construction, the 5th Congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party, which took place in 1941, noted that our task in forming Lithuania's socialist culture was to take everything objectively progressive from culture of the past because it belongs to the working people and has the mission of promoting the struggle for the building of socialism. This mission -- the congress observed -- is not an easy one

because it requires scrutinizing and understanding everything. It noted that communists do not recognize a national culture that is bourgeois and reactionary in its content. This view of the Lithuanian Communist Party regarding the cultural legacy of the past -- a view that was expressed in the first year of socialist construction -- helped the progressive intelligentsia to understand the essence of the historical mission of the working class which is carried out in the theoretical and practical activity of the Lithuanian Communist Party.

Following the republic's liberation from the Hitlerites, the Lithuanian Communist Party developed theoretical activity relative to the affirmation of Leninist criteria of evaluating the historical and cultural heritage in connection with subsequent socialist reforms. Much was done to affirm a class-oriented, proletarian attitude toward social events, the Leninist principle of party spirit, and the principle of concrete historical analysis in the study of society's development. This is attested to by documents of the 5th, 7th (1945), 11th (1946), and 15th (1947) Plenums of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee and the 6th (1949), 7th (1952), 10th (1958), 13th (1961), 16th (1971), and 17th (1976) Congresses of the Lithuanian Communist Party.

The 4th (1953) Plenum of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee emphasized that the party spirit principle expresses the unity of the scientific approach and a class-oriented attitude and the implacable struggle against bourgeois ideology. As the 5th (1945) Plenum of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee noted, some intellectuals still idealized Lithuania's bourgeois past and attempted to gloss over class contradictions. In 1946, the 11th Plenum of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee exposed those who espoused the bourgeois "common flow" theory and noted that tolerance of this theory was detrimental to socialist construction and to the ideological indoctrination of the working people.

As noted by the 15th Plenum of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee in 1947, the "common flow" theory was manifested in the idealization of Lithuanian bourgeois culture, in admiration of bourgeois culture of the West, in the ignoring of Soviet science, in indifference to politics, in the fact that bourgeois historiographers' interpretations of the most important events in general history and the history of the USSR have still not been entirely overcome.⁹ There were serious errors of a methodological and ideological nature that were expressed in the one-sided evaluation of the cultural and political activity of writers in the past. What is more, the dialectical contradictoriness of life, the complex intertwining of class relationships, their intensity, and the complexity of the personality of the writer as a cultural figure were not taken into account. After presenting a detailed evaluation of individual writers of the past, the plenum stated that the task was not to gloss over everything reaction in a writer's works but rather to identify everything of value in them. The plenum demanded that the works of individual writers be given a party evaluation in publications.

In its fight against bourgeois nationalism, the Lithuanian Communist Party put an end to the false idea that the Lithuanian bourgeoisie launched the Lithuanian people's struggle against national oppression. The role of democratic revolutionaries A. Matskyavichyus, Z. Serakovskiy and K. Kalinovskiy

in the people's struggle against tsarism was emphasized. It more than once quoted F. Engels' statement that "the Lithuanian movement today is the most important because it; (1) goes beyond the boundaries of Congress Poland and (2) peasants participate in it to a large degree and nearer to Kurland it even assumes an outright agrarian character."¹⁰

In their publications, ideologues of the liberal bourgeoisie said absolutely nothing about the development and growth of the Lithuanian proletariat and its organizations and the leading role of the Lithuanian proletariat in the struggle for the national and social liberation of the Lithuanian people. Banished from history was the fact that in the latter 19th century the bourgeois national movement in Lithuania, upon encountering the growing revolutionary movement of the workers, quickly degenerated into reactionary bourgeois nationalism whose banner was the rallying point for all reactionary forces in the early 20th century in the struggle against the Lithuanian working people's liberation movement, against the growing revolutionary movement in the first ranks of which marched the Lithuanian class which had united its organizations under the effective influence of the struggle of the working class of Russia. On the other hand, the 6th Congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party condemned the nihilism that was shown in the republic regarding the Lithuanian people's culture. "Lithuanian bolsheviks cherish everything that is genuinely progressive, democratic and revolutionary in the history of the Lithuanian people."¹¹

The 7th Congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party also rebuffed those who attempted to apply the criticism directed against nihilism to people who were fighting against national narrow-mindedness, against the "common flow, to people disseminating the ideology of proletarian internationalism, to those who effected closer ties between progressive Russian culture and the culture of other Soviet peoples. The congress condemned those who spread the harmful theory of the conflict-free development of Soviet society and also spoke out resolutely against the magnification and absolutization of negative phenomena encountered in socialist society. It emphasized that the nonantagonistic contradictions existing in socialist society find their resolution in the improvement of socialist production, in socialist social relations, in the development of criticism of encountered shortcomings, and in the more intensive struggle against vestiges of the past and against outcroppings of nationalism. There were also attempts to supplant the struggle against the theory of the "common flow" with the struggle against the theory of "conflict-free" development. The 6th and 7th Congresses of the Lithuanian Communist Party showed that neither of the two theories had anything in common with Marxist-Leninist theory and that both one and the other had to be combated. Particularly harmful, however, was the "common flow" theory which had become deeply rooted because bourgeois nationalists had been implanting it for almost a hundred years.

The significance of the 7th Congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party was that it substantiated criteria for evaluating historical events and cultures.

Lenin's pronouncement that "the entire spirit of Marxism and its entire system demands that every principle be considered only (α); (β) only in connection with others; (γ) only in connection with the concrete experience

of history"¹² is a very important criterion for evaluating the historical and cultural heritage. Hence research on the historical development of the Lithuanian people and the activity of representatives of its culture entails the disclosure of specific historical conditions. At the same time, it is necessary to adhere to V. I. Lenin's affirmation that the division of society into classes gives rise to a broad political grouping that is revealed only in course of historical development side by side with the formation of the class positions of participants in this development and their conscious expression of their positions. Indeed, the ideological views of a considerable share of scholars and cultural figures of the past reflected the social and class positions of the Lithuanian bourgeoisie even though there were also progressive elements in the views of some liberal intellectuals.

We must recall the Marxist principle of scientific analysis which affirmed that with the development of the class struggle, when it acquires a more and more acute character, the unreal striving to stand above this struggle loses all theoretical justification. For example, under certain historical conditions, critically utopian socialism was a progressive phenomenon. However the theories of followers of utopian socialism, which did not take into account the further historical development of the proletariat, were already reactionary because they were proclaimed at a time when the theory of scientific communism, which expressed the historic mission of the working class, had already been created. It is specifically for this reason that the significance of critically utopian socialism and communism are inversely related to historical development.¹³ An analogous situation can also be seen in the history of Lithuania. During the second half of the 19th century, revolutionary democrats entered the arena of struggle in Lithuania; at the end of the century, Marxism had already been disseminated. The concepts proclaimed by liberal bourgeois ideologues at a time when Marxist-Leninist ideas had already been diffused in Lithuania, expressed the class objectives of the embryonic Lithuanian bourgeoisie. They tried to play down the class struggle, proclaimed the idea of "unity of nation" and hindered the political formation of the working class and the formation of proletarian organizations; their ideology was based on nationalism.

The 7th Congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party emphasized the need to differentiate from a scientific viewpoint processes that are absolutely different in their character: (1) the struggle for national and social liberation together with all peoples in tsarist Russia and (2) the bourgeois national movement which pursued narrow class interests, was reconciled to tsarism and Kaiser Germany and made common cause with them in fighting against the revolutionary workers movement. The congress noted that at the end of the 19th century and in the first decades of the 20th century, the majority of the liberal intelligentsia acted in concert with the forces of reaction and counterrevolution. To be sure, part of the liberal intelligentsia drew closer to the people, occupied democratic positions and condemned reaction. However, the liberal intelligentsia demonstrated conservative views toward scientific communism and the proletarian movement. Somewhat later, one of the party documents noted that in the past there had been some conflict among certain groups of bourgeois society -- between clericals and the freethinking bourgeoisie. However in the struggle against the working class and later, against socialism, bourgeois nationalists of all descriptions pulled together.

The 7th Congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party condemned the unscientific approach to the description of the Lithuanian people's past. V. I. Lenin ridiculed sociologists who based their theoretical doctrines on an abstract characterization of society and who described the role of individuals without revealing the essence of a specific socioeconomic order or the role of the masses in history. F. Engels wrote: "In the history of society, there are mentally gifted people who act purposefully and passionately in pursuit of certain goals"¹⁴ that stem from the conditions of people's material life. The masses are linked to developing material production. It is the masses who make history.

The party has always fought for and will continue to fight for the correct illumination of the role of the masses in history. The Lithuanian Communist Party advanced the recognition of the role of the masses in history to the forefront and emphasized the significance of the activity of the proletariat's organizations and especially of its political party and the role of individuals in the struggle for the social and cultural progress of society. The 6th and 7th Congresses of the Lithuanian Communist Party indicated the need to disclose the role of classes in order to understand the political and cultural activity of a given individual since people's aspirations are conditional upon their class. While it is naturally impossible to ignore the national aspect, it too is associated with the interests of individual classes. It is essential to be guided by Lenin's teaching that "we must take not individual facts, but the sum total of facts, without a single exception, relating to the question under discussion. Otherwise there will be the inevitable and fully justified suspicion that (...) we are presenting a "subjective" concoction to justify what might prove to be a dirty business."¹⁵

Documents of the 6th and 7th Congresses of the Lithuanian Communist Party and of the 15th and other plenums of the party's Central Committee indicated that Soviet Lithuanian culture is continuing the best traditions of the classics of Lithuanian literature and art, and that the continuity process is itself complex. In the process of assimilating the literary and artistic heritage, it is necessary to criticize reactionary ideological conceptions of individual representatives of culture in the past and at the same time to acknowledge their progressive esthetic conceptions. The party consistently demanded that the cultural heritage of writers and artists of the past be evaluated from class positions so as to observe the party spirit principle and the correctly understood trend of development.¹⁶ Therefore any attempt to indiscriminately deny the cultural heritage of the Lithuanian people was decisively rebuffed. The party widely revealed the harmful essence of the nihilistic attitude toward the development of Soviet Lithuanian culture. But in addition to this, in its documents the Lithuanian Communist Party consistently spoke out against the absolutization of national traits in the evaluation of the cultural heritage of the past.

The resolute and scientifically substantiated policy of the Lithuanian Communist Party has born fruit. "Successful socialist construction and the ideological work of the party have also altered the Lithuanian people's consciousness beyond recognition. The ideas of Marxism-Leninism have been

affirmed among the masses of working people. A new Soviet, national intelligentsia dedicated to communism has grown up. The idea of friendship among peoples is deeply rooted in the mind of the Lithuanian people. A new culture that is national in form and socialist in content has been created. All these changes have taken place under the conditions of bitter political and ideological struggle against bourgeois nationalism, clericalism and other offshoots of bourgeois ideology."¹⁷

Faithful to the behests of V. I. Lenin, the Lithuanian Communist Party -- a fighting unit of the CPSU -- has instilled and continues to instill in the republic's working people the ability to deal with all national questions from a class position. As Comrade Yu. V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has observed, events in our country "have fully confirmed the historic truth of the teaching of Marx and Lenin that the solution to the national question can only be found on a class basis."¹⁸

FOOTNOTES

1. Yu. V. Andropov, "Shest'desyat' let SSSR" [Sixty Years of the USSR], Moscow, 1982, pp 13-14.
2. "Materialy XVIII s"yezda Kompartii Litvy" [Materials of the 18th Congress of the Lithuanian Communist Party], Vilnius, 1981, p 47.
3. "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 26th Congress of the CPSU], Moscow, 1981, p. 62.
4. A. Snechkus, "Under Lenin's Banner," Vilnius, Vol. 1, p. 236. In Lithuanian.
5. Ibid., p 175.
6. A. Snechkus, Op. cit., 1977, p. 19.
7. "Partiynnyy arkhiv TsK Kompartii Litvy" [Party Archives of the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party], f. 1771, op. 131, d. 172, l. 224.
8. Ibid., f. 1771, op. 1771, d. 166, l. 9, d. 167, l. 26, 27.
9. A. Snechkus, "On the Improvement of Ideological Work," Vilnius, 1948, pp. 17-18. In Lithuanian.
10. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Sochineniya" [Works], Vol 30, p 276.
11. TIYESA, 17 February 1949.
12. V. I. Lenin, "Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy" [Complete Works], Vol 49, p 329.

13. K. Marx, et al, Op. cit., Vol 4, pp 456-457.
14. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Izbrannyye proizvedeniya" [Selected Works], Vol 30, p 351.
15. V. I. Lenin, Op. cit., Vol 30, p 351.
16. "Partiynyy arkhiv," f. 1771, op. 51, l. 214, l. 497.
17. A. Snechkus, "Under Lenin's Banner," Vol. 1, p. 340.
18. Yu. V. Andropov, Op. cit., p 7.

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REGIONAL

ELIMINATING INTERNAL BUREAUCRATIC BARRIERS WITHIN RAPO

Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 24 Apr 83 p 2

[Round Table discussion recorded by Correspondent S. Shcherba: "How the Partner is Working"]

[Text] The Food Program has set great tasks for increasing the production of milk, meat, grain, potatoes, and other agricultural products.

How can we obtain the maximum output of these goods, provide for precise, interested cooperation of all enterprises and organizations belonging to the rayon agro-industrial association (RAPO), and eliminate interdepartmental barriers? These questions concern the rayon party committee, rayispolkom, RAPO specialists, and sovkhoz and kolkhoz leaders. To answer these questions and develop a joint program of action, representatives of all the interested parties met for a round table discussion, organized by the editors of SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA, the republic newspaper, and ZNAMYA TRUDA, the Rezeknenskiy Rayon association newspaper.

Workers of the rayon are greeting the spring of the third year of the five-year plan in a good mood. A timely and high-quality job has been done in repairing the equipment, the seeds are prepared, and their treatment is proceeding. The kolkhozes and sovkhozes are finishing up their preparations for the sowing--finalizing the work schedule, and assembling the teams which are to lay the groundwork for the collective contracts on the farms. The goal is to obtain 23.7 quintals of grain from every hectare, ensure a gross yield of at least 83,000 tons of grain, and increase the yield of potatoes, flax, hay from perennial grasses, fodder root crops, and vegetables.

High goals have also been set for animal husbandry. The sale of milk to the state should be a thousand tons more than last year, meat--1500 tons more. Farm workers have already secured an increase in production. The sale of milk to the state has increased 31 percent compared to the corresponding period of last year. Meat sales have increased 8 percent. The productivity of cows has increased, as well as the weight gains in livestock assigned for fattening.

All this is the result of changes that occurred in kolkhoz and sovkhos life with the creation of RAPO. Specialization, the conversion of separate sectors to an industrial base, and the strengthening of inter-farm connections and contacts with processing enterprises made it possible to lower product losses and raise the profitability of the farms.

The inclusion of the grain products combine in RAPO was especially beneficial to sovkhoses and kolkhoses. Earlier, half of the outlays on grain production were due to post-combine processing; on every kolkhoz and sovkhos, 40-45 men worked on each threshing facility throughout the entire harvesting season; hence the high prime cost of production and the low profitability of the sector. In the enterprise the outlays were significantly lower: processing a ton of grain cost approximately five rubles, while it cost more than 13 rubles on the kolkhoses and sovkhoses. Last year the combine received more than 10,000 tons of grain from kolkhoses and sovkhoses, which yielded a substantial savings in funds. In addition, the kolkhoses and sovkhoses exchange grain for mixed feeds, the use of which yields a significantly greater effect than the use of the same quantity of grain as fodder.

Many positive things can also be said about other subdivisions belonging to RAPO. Raysel'khoztekhnika, Raysel'khozkhimiya, and the inter-kolkhoz construction organization have begun to work better, and ties between the farms and the flax-processing plant have been strengthened.

Successes in the work of all links of the agro-industrial association are obvious. At the same time, RAPO Board Chairman V. Lisichkin noted, their relations with certain partners leave much to be desired.

The general opinion of farm representatives present was expressed by A. Kurashov, chairman of Leninets Kolkhoz. He considers the most important condition of interaction of partners in agricultural production to be discipline, in the broadest sense of the word. It should exist on kolkhoses and sovkhoses, in state institutions, in transport, in the service field--everywhere that ensures the continuity of the production process in agriculture.

"If the plan is the law for every kolkhoz, then it must be so also in the work of those who interact with us," said A. Kurashov.

He cited instances when plans and schedules for delivering fertilizer, equipment, fuels and lubricants, and other industrial products to the kolkhoz were not carried out. On the kolkhoz nobody knows precisely what will be delivered tomorrow or the day after. There have been cases when trucks suddenly arrived with, let us say, fertilizer, as central removal [tsentroyvvoz] was functioning. But the kolkhoz was not expecting them and consequently had not prepared for them. The troubles begin--where to put the fertilizer, how to unload it? But if there were advance notification that the kolkhoz would receive some product or other on a particular day, according to a schedule, then there would be no transport

idleness. Or again, when a farm is counting on the results from some innovation, it orders the necessary machines and trailer implements in advance. When the time comes to put the ordered equipment into operation, it is not there. All right, if it comes in the next quarter. But the filling of orders is apt to be put off for a year or even longer. Raysel'khoztekhnika should be more insistent that industry deliver the ordered machines in timely fashion.

Agricultural workers have major complaints against the processing enterprises; arguments frequently arise in determining the quality of products. In A. Kurashov's opinion, the farms are losing substantial sums this way. Especially since not everyone is able to check individual indicators. For example, the fatness of livestock or the color of flax straw. There are no special instruments for determining these indicators; it is necessary to rely on the conscientiousness of the examiner. Here is something to think about for workers in state inspection of purchases and quality of agricultural products.

Those present also agreed with N. Borovikov, director of the flax-processing plant, who proved convincingly that the quality of flax products depends primarily on the harvesting periods and the initial processing of the straw. Early harvesting periods and local sorting ensure high quality.

On one kolkhoz, the following incident occurred. In May of last year, the farm received a motor vehicle from Raysel'khoztekhnika. In attempting to start the motor, it turned out that the head was frozen. This occurred in the winter, of course. But the Raysel'khoztekhnika workers did not notice the defect, and forwarded the vehicle to the recipient. There was no sense in complaining to the supplier plant--how could you prove that it wasn't the customer's fault? As a result, it turned out that Raysel'khoztekhnika let down its RAPO partner. Clearly, the farm too should have been concerned about principles.

The participants in the round table had a serious discussion about improving the quality of construction on the farms, and the performance of communication and transport. Farm officials cited examples when kolkhoz and sovkhoz vehicles were working, but the Raysel'khoztekhnika transport, which is supposed to deliver spare parts and bring specialists to service the farm machinery, was not running.

There are many complaints about communications. In order to fulfill the plan, communications workers are installing many telephones, but calling up the rayon center or a neighboring farm is by no means always successful. Gaygalava Kolkhoz Chairman A. Pliksh expressed the opinion that communications workers should improve their performance significantly.

V. Shumskiy, director of the Rezekne Vegetable Sovkhoz, remarked that in order to satisfy consumers' demand for garden produce, certain problems must be solved. First of all, it has become urgently necessary to construct a new hot-house combine, to provide early nutritious products for city-dwellers. But the endeavor is being held up in placing the

order for construction and supplying the facility with heat. Departmental barriers are getting in the way, and to overcome them the sovkhos needs to have help from workers in the republic Ministry of Meat and Dairy Industry, and city organizations.

Just as many complexities arise in selling the product. The sovkhos depends on the fruit and vegetable base, trade enterprises, and an affiliate of the canning industry which processes part of the farm's output. Each of these subdivisions has its own goals and tasks, which do not always coincide.

In the opinion of participants in the meeting, all the links of this chain should be subordinate to one general director, and should be members of RAPO. It would then be easier to monitor the assortment of vegetables produced, and not permit the plan to be fulfilled on the basis of two or three items. It is no secret that consumers' demand for fresh cucumbers, tomatoes, carrots, and other garden produce is far from being fully satisfied, even with importation from other republics. It would be interesting to know what the republic Ministry of Fruit and Vegetable Industry thinks about this.

Every partner's participation in RAPO entails not only rights, but also responsibilities. Kh. Chibulis, director of the grain products combine, raised the question about RAPO fund formation. In accordance with the standard provisions, the combine should participate in its formation. But the sector ministry told the combine leadership by official telegram not to make deductions, which contradicts the standard provision on RAPO.

Kh. Chibulis considers it just as important to think about the solution of another question. Although they belong to RAPO, communists of the combine are registered in the party gorkom, whereas they should belong to the rayon party organization like the other partners. This dual affiliation prevents the resolution of many problems, in particular that of supplying the workers with housing.

Participants in the round table also discussed questions of supplying the farms with spare parts and construction materials, the erection and use of residential and production buildings, the reclamation of swamp lands, and precise work planning. The following people shared their opinions at the meeting: L. Zunda, chairman of the Tridtsat' Let Oktyabrya Kolkhoz, V. Teraud, director of the Kaunata Sovkhos, Yu. Ratoklya, head engineer of the Rezeknenskiy Inter-Kolkhoz Construction Organization, M. Tret'yak, director of the Rezekneplodoovoshch Wholesale-Retail Enterprise, and others.

Concrete, business-like discussion of the problems which concern all the participants in the meeting will unquestionably help develop inter-sectoral ties, and increase the interest of all parties in achieving high final

results in agriculture. But problems do not resolve themselves; the interdepartmental barriers must be more quickly removed, the partners of the farmers must have a sense of responsibility and look for ways to expand the aid to kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Not that the forces of all RAPO organizations and enterprises have been united, it is possible to resolve more successfully the tasks set for the rayon by the Food Program.

Rezeknenskiy Rayon.

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